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R.B. SHERIDAN, ESQ^R. M.P.

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*Being a CONTINUATION of the HISTORIES of
Mr. HUME and Dr. SMOLLETT.*

By J. BARLOW, Esq.

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THE YEAR 1844 TO THE

YEAR 1845

BY J. BARRON, ESQ.
OF THE MONASTERY OF SAINT BENEDET

BY J. BARRON, ESQ.

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struction of the Spanish floating batteries, inculcated on Great Britain, France, and Spain, the policy of sheathing the sword, and stopping the effusion of human blood. Each nation found on a review of past events, that though their losses were great, their gains were little or nothing. By urging the American war, Great Britain had increased her national debt upwards of one hundred millions of pounds sterling, and wasted the lives of at least 50,000 of her subjects. To add to her mortification, she had brought all this on herself, by pursuing an object, the attainment of which seemed to be daily less probable, and the benefits of which, even though it could have been attained, were very problematical.

Two of the first sovereigns of Europe, the empress of Russia, and the emperor of Germany, were the mediators in accomplishing the great work of peace. Such was the state of the contending parties, that the intercession of powerful mediators was no longer necessary. The disposition of Great Britain to recognize the independence of the United States had removed the principal difficulty which had hitherto obstructed a general pacification. It would be curious to trace the successive steps by which the nation was brought to this measure, so irreconcilable to their former declarations. Various auxiliary causes might be called in to account for this great change of the public mind of Great Britain, but the sum of the whole must be resolved into this simple proposition, "That it was unavoidable." A state of perpetual war was inconsistent with the interest of a commercial nation: Even the longer continuance of hostilities was forbidden by every principle of wise policy.

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On the 30th of November 1782, provisional articles were signed by the British and American commissioners, which were to be inserted in the general treaty of peace, whenever it should be concluded between the European powers. By these articles the independence of America was acknowledged in the fullest extent; very ample boundaries were assigned to the States, comprehending the extensive countries on both sides the Ohio, and on the east of the Mississippi, and the full right of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland.

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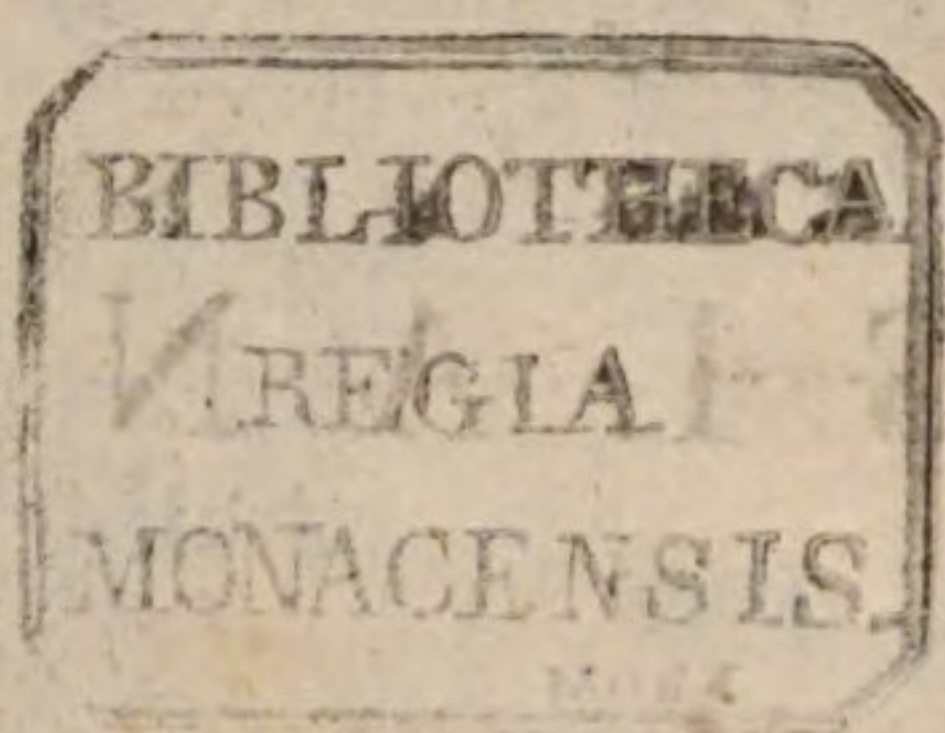
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The preliminary articles between Great Britain and France were signed at Versailles by Mr. Fitzherbert and the count de Vergennes, on the 28th of January 1783, and those with Spain on the same day. By the former of these treaties the fishery on the coast of Newfoundland was permitted to the French, from Cape St. John, on the eastern side, round the north of the island, to Cape Ray on the west.—The islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon were ceded to France. In the West Indies Great Britain ceded also the island of Tobago, and restored that of St. Lucia. In Africa the river Senegal, and all its dependencies and forts were ceded, and the island of Goree restored to the French. In the East Indies England restored all her conquests. The articles also relative to the port and harbour of Dunkirk, established at the peace of Utrecht, were by the new treaty annulled.

In return for these concessions, France restored to Great Britain the islands of Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat, in the West Indies; and in Africa the possession of Fort James, and the river Gambia, were guaranteed to Great Britain.

By the treaty with Spain, Great Britain relinquished all right and claim to West Florida, and the island of Minorca, and ceded the province of East Florida: On the other side, the Bahama islands were restored to Great Britain. With respect to the Dutch, a suspension of arms only was agreed to; and it was some months before the preliminaries were settled*.

By these treaties an end was put to the most unfortunate war, in which Great Britain had hitherto been engaged: From the conflict of parties which distracted the nation, however, these articles of peace were doomed to undergo a severe examination.

The parliament met on the 21st of January 1783, and a coalition having been previously formed between lord North and the Portland faction, some debates en-

* See the whole of these treaties, note [A] at the end of the volume.

sued concerning the provisional articles with America; but little business of consequence was transacted till the 17th of February, when the preliminary articles were laid before the two houses.

An address of thanks and approbation being moved in the house of peers by lord Pembroke, and seconded by the marquis of Carmarthen, a succession of able and eloquent speeches were made by the lords Carlisle, Walsingham, Sackville, Stormont, and Loughborough, reprobating the preliminaries of peace as derogatory from the dignity, and in the highest degree injurious to the interests of the nation. "The dereliction of the loyalists of America, and the Indians our allies, was said to be a baseness unexampled in the records of history. In the lowest ebb of distress we ought not to have subscribed to terms so ignominious. Francis I. when conquered and a captive, wrote, "that all was lost except his honour;" and his magnanimity finally re-established his fortune. The folly of our negotiations was every where apparent. In Africa, our trade was surrendered to France by the cession of Senegal and Goree--In Asia, Pondicherry was not only given back, but, to render the boon more acceptable, a large territory was made to accompany it---In America, the prohibitions against fortifying St. Pierre and Miquelon were removed, and the limits of the fishery extended---and under pretence of drawing a boundary line, the treaty grants to the United States an immense tract of country inhabited by more than twenty Indian nations---In the West Indies, St. Lucia was relinquished, which was of such military importance, that so long as we retained this island in our hands, we might well have stood upon the *uti possidetis*, as the basis of negotiation in that quarter---The cession of East Florida to Spain was an extravagance for which it was impossible to find even the shadow of a pretence---To complete the whole, France was allowed to repair and fortify the harbour of Dunkirk, which, in the event of a future war, might annoy our trade in its centre, and counteract all the advantage of our local situation for foreign commerce: And what is most wonderful, all these

sacrifices are made on the professed ground of arranging matters on the principles of *reciprocity*."

The minister defended himself from these attacks with great ability. His lordship declared, "that *peace* was the object for which the nation at large had discovered the most unequivocal desire; the end he had in view was the advantage of his country, and he was certain that he had attained it. The vast uncultivated tract of land to the southward of the lakes," his lordship said, "was of infinite consequence to America, and of none to England; and the retention of it, or even of the forts which commanded it, could only have laid the foundation of future hostility. If our liberality to Ireland was the subject of just applause, why act upon principles of illiberality to America? The refusal of the Newfoundland fishery would have been a direct manifestation of hostile intentions; and as it lay on their coasts, it was in reality impossible to exclude them from it by any restrictions; it is an advantage which nature has given them, and to attempt to wrest it from them would not only be unjust, but impracticable. Of one objection his lordship acknowledged that he deeply felt the force. His regret and compassion for the situation of the unhappy loyalists were as pungent as those of their warmest advocates. This objection admitted only of one answer, the answer which he had given to his own bleeding heart---'It is better that a part should suffer, rather than the whole empire perish.' He would have dashed from him the bitter cup which the adversities of his country held out to him, if peace had not been absolutely necessary---if it had not been called for with a unanimity and vigour that could not be resisted. No arts of address or negotiation had been neglected; but the American commissioners had no power to concede further. The congress itself had not the power---for, by the constitution of America, every state was supreme, including in itself the legislative and judicial powers; its jurisdiction, therefore, was not liable to control. In the mode of interposition, by recommendation alone, could the congress act. If, after all, the loyalists should not be received into the bosom of their
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native country, Britain, penetrated with gratitude for their services, and warm with the feelings of humanity, would afford them an asylum: And it would doubtless be wiser to indemnify them for their losses, than to ruin the nation by a renewal or prolongation of the calamities of war. The cession of East Florida, his lordship said, was rendered unavoidable, by the mistaken and ruinous policy of those ministers who had brought the nation under the miserable necessity of treating with its enemies on terms very different from those it could formerly have commanded. This province, detached from Western Florida, already conquered by the arms of Spain, was however of trivial value; and the amount of its imports and exports bore no proportion to the expense of its civil establishment. We had, nevertheless, obtained a compensation in the restitution of the Bahamas. Although the bounds of the French fishery were somewhat extended, by far the most eligible parts of the Newfoundland coast were left in possession of the English, and a source of future contention removed by the exact ascertainment of limits. In exchange for St. Lucia, France had restored six of the seven islands she had taken, and only retained Tobago. Senegal and Goree had been originally French settlements, but their commerce was inconsiderable; and the whole African trade was open to the English, by our settlements on the river Gambia, which were guaranteed to us by this treaty. The restoration of Pondicherry, and our other conquests in the East, must be acknowledged not a measure of expediency so much as of absolute necessity, if the state of the East India company were adverted to. Such had been the formidable confederacy against which they were compelled to contend, such the wretched derangement of their finances, and so exposed to hazard were their vast and precarious possessions, that nothing but peace could recover to them their ascendancy in Asia; in such a situation it was impossible to procure terms of accommodation more honourable. The removal of the restraints relative to the harbour of Dunkirk—restraints disgraceful to France, and of trifling advantage to England—was inveighed

against without candour or reason; Dunkirk, as a port, was, as his lordship asserted, far from possessing the consequence ascribed to it; it lies near a shoaly part of the channel; it cannot receive ships of a large size, and can never be a rendezvous for squadrons; it may indeed be a resort for privateers, but these we know by experience could easily issue from other ports. In fine, the confederacy formed against us was decidedly superior to our utmost exertions—our taxes were exorbitant—our debts, funded and unfunded, amounted to two hundred and forty-seven millions—our commerce was rapidly declining—our navy was overbalanced by the fleets of the combined powers, in the alarming proportion of more than fifty ships of the line. Peace was in these circumstances necessary to our existence as a nation. The best terms of accommodation which our situation would admit had been procured; and his lordship ventured to affirm, that they could be derided or opposed only by ignorance, prejudice, or faction.” On a division, the address was carried by a majority of 72 to 59 voices.

In the house of commons the ministry were less successful. The address was moved by Mr. T. Pitt, and seconded by Mr. Wilberforce. It however met with a very different fate, after giving occasion to very warm debates.

An amendment to the address was proposed by lord John Cavendish, and seconded by Mr. St. John, that instead of the words “*had* considered,” should be inserted “*will* consider;” that all the rest of the original address should be left out, and the following paragraph should be inserted: “That whatever may be the sentiments of his faithful commons on this investigation of the terms of pacification, they beg leave to assure his majesty of their firm and unalterable resolution to adhere inviolably to the several articles for which the public faith is pledged, and to maintain the blessings of peace, so necessary to his majesty’s subjects, and the general happiness of mankind.”

Lord North, in a very long, but (considering his situation and his guilt) a most unbecoming speech, went over the different articles of the peace, which he re-
probated

probated as being altogether unfavourable to Great Britain, dangerous to the safety, and derogatory to the honour of the nation, and not warranted or justified by the situation of the parties at war. He therefore said, he would vote for the amendment, to which he proposed to add a clause in favour of the American loyalists.

Mr. Powys was strenuous for the address, and declared his satisfaction with the peace in the most unequivocal manner. He disavowed all personal and interested motives; and while he gloried that the first lord of the treasury had broken the confederacy in arms against this country, he confessed that he had no great predilection for his character. He thought that this was the age of strange confederacies. The world had seen great and arbitrary despots stand forth the protectors of an infant republic. France and Spain had combined to establish the rising liberties of America; and what was wonderful, the house of commons now surveyed the counterpart of this picture. A monstrous coalition had been made between a noble lord, and an illustrious commoner. The lofty asserter of the prerogative had joined in alliance with the worshipper of the majesty of the people.

The lord advocate exclaimed against the amendment, and against the addition made to it by lord North; and from the coalition formed between the latter and Mr. Fox, he judged that they would be both against the original motion. After attacking the coalition, his lordship defended the treaties. He was persuaded that, with regard to the loyalists, the ministry had done every thing within the compass of their power.

Mr. Sheridan remarked the reflections which had been thrown out against the coalition of lord North and Mr. Fox; and pointed out, as something more singular, the intimate alliance which had been formed between the lord advocate, the most pledged supporter of the high prerogative of the crown, and Mr. Pitt, the leader of the popular advocates for a parliamentary reform. He doubted not the convenience of the principles of the learned lord. They could perpetually fluctuate with his
interest.

interest. It mattered not to him whether he was to advance the prerogative, or to act to its overthrow. In these opposite lines of conduct he could preserve his consistency; for his uniform object was himself.

Mr. Fox now rose, and pointed out the peculiar delicacy of his situation. He had been accused of having formed an union with a noble lord whose principles he had opposed for several years of his life. But the grounds of their opposition being removed, he did not conceive it to be honourable to keep up animosities for ever. The American war was the source of his disagreement with the noble lord; and that cause of enmity being now no more, it was wise and fit to put an end to the ill-will, the animosity, the rancour, and the feuds which it engendered. The learned lord, who had imprudently been so lavish of his charges, had once been the obedient friend of the noble person in the blue ribband; and with what view had he deserted him? He had formerly approved his system when it was calamitous and unjust; and did he now, from a spirit of system, avoid him when his line of conduct was more meritorious? The maxims adopted by the learned lord were not unknown; and no virtuous statesman could possibly approve of them. They taught him to submit to perpetual variations of his sentiments; and to go decidedly into the views of ministers, whatever they might be.

Mr. Pitt, and several other members, took part in the debate; after which the house having divided, it appeared that ministry were outvoted, there being a majority for the amendment of 224 to 208.

The defeat of the minister in the house of commons on the subject of the address to the throne, was a topic of universal conversation, and considered as a prognostic of his approaching fall. It was immediately perceived, that the determination of the house would be a public notification of the impropriety of the peace; and it was therefore thought advisable that it should be followed up by some other proceedings. Accordingly, on the 21st February, the subject was a second time brought before the house of commons by lord John Cavendish.

His

His lordship expressed his concern, that the majority for the amendment on the address to the throne had been represented as having actually voted against the peace, possibly by some persons who might have had their own views to serve in propagating such a report. He was therefore anxious to convince the nation, and the powers with whom we were negotiating, of our fixed determination not to renew the war. Nevertheless, he censured in severe terms the conditions on which the peace had been obtained; and having recapitulated the various disadvantages we had sustained in effecting the pacification, read the following motions:

1. "That in consideration of the public faith, which ought to be preserved inviolable, his faithful commons will support his majesty in rendering firm and permanent the peace to be concluded definitively, in consequence of the provisional treaty, and the preliminary articles.—
2. That, in concurrence with his majesty's paternal regard for his people, they will employ their best endeavours to improve the blessings of peace.—3. That his majesty, in acknowledging the independence of the United States of America, has acted as the circumstances of affairs indisputably required, and in conformity to the sense of parliament.—4. That the concessions made to the adversaries of Great Britain, are greater than they were entitled to, either from the actual situation of their respective possessions, or from their comparative strength.—And, 5. That they would take the case of the loyalists into consideration, and administer such relief as their conduct and necessity should be found to merit."

The two first resolutions were agreed to without any opposition. On the third a short debate took place, occasioned by doubts having arisen in the minds of several members, respecting the power vested in the king, to acknowledge the independency of the United States, which, it was unanimously agreed by the gentlemen of the long robe, his majesty had full authority to do, in consequence of the statute passed last year to enable him to make peace with America. The last resolution lord John Cavendish consented to wave. But on the fourth, which

which conveyed so pointed a censure on ministry, a very animated debate took place.

Mr. Powys said, he by no means approved of many articles of the peace; but taking its advantages and disadvantages together, he was sure that the ministers who had made it deserved thanks. It was his wish that foreign courts knew, as well as it was understood here, that the present contentions had not in view the interruption of the peace, but the overthrow of the minister. It was a matter of little concern that the first lord of the treasury should remain in office. But it was a regret to him to observe, that a most unnatural coalition had been entered into to overset him. It was possible that some alloy might be useful to make the political coin durable for currency; but care ought to prevail not to debase it entirely.

Lord John Cavendish advised his honourable friend not to permit his wit to outrun his judgment; and assured him that he would have valued his compliments more, if they had been less accompanied with sarcasms against a certain coalition. The present juncture of affairs called for such an union. It was only by the concurring efforts of eminent and able men that Great Britain was now to recover her greatness.

Mr. Fox argued, that a censure of the peace did not imply a disposition to continue the war; and he recalled to the attention of the house, that one of the resolutions which had been moved expressed their resolute determination to support pacific measures. The abuse thrown upon the coalition of parties which had taken place, was not only mean, but absurd. To descend into personalities was at all times odious; but to indulge them to the disadvantage of men who had united to preserve the constitution of their country, was a solecism of which the wildness was prodigious.—Mr. Fox then, in a very long and masterly speech, canvassed, separately, the articles of the different treaties; from which he endeavoured to show, that the concessions made to the different powers with which we were at war, were such as could not be justified from a consideration

sideration of the relative situation of the contending parties.

Mr. Pitt, after deploring the inconsistencies of party-violence, said, he allowed that the relative strength and resources of the respective powers at war were the standards by which the merits of the peace ought to be tried, and upon this standard he was ready to prove that the peace was the best that could be obtained. It was in vain to boast of the strength of our navy. We had not more than one hundred sail of the line. But the fleet of France and Spain amounted nearly to one hundred and forty ships of the line. A destination of seventy-two ships of the line was to have acted against Jamaica. Admiral Pigot had only forty-six sail to support it; and it was a favourite maxim of many members of this house, that defensive war must terminate in certain ruin. It was not possible that admiral Pigot could have acted offensively against the islands of the enemy. For lord Rodney, when flushed with victory, did not dare to attack them. Would admiral Pigot have recovered by arms what the ministers had regained by negotiation? With a superior fleet against him, and in its fight, is it to be conceived that he could have retaken Grenada, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat? On the contrary, is it not more than probable that the campaign in the West Indies must have terminated in the loss of Jamaica?

In the East, it was true that the services of sir Edward Hughes had been highly extolled. But he could only be commended for a merely defensive resistance. Victory seemed to be out of the question; and he had not been able to prevent the disembarkation of a powerful European armament, which had joined itself to Hyder Ally, and threatened the desolation of the Carnatic. At home, and in our own seas, the fleets of the enemy would have been nearly double to ours. We might have seized the intervals of their cruize, and paraded the channel for a few weeks. But that parade would have only served to disgrace us. It was yet the only atchievement in our power; for to have hazarded an engagement, would have been equivalent to a surrender of the kingdom. Neither,

Neither, in his opinion, was the state of our army to be considered as formidable. New levies could not be raised in a depopulated country. We might send upon an offensive scheme five or six thousand men; and what expectation could be excited by a force of this kind? To have withdrawn troops from America was a critical game. There were no transports in which they might be embarked; and if it had been possible to embark them, in what miraculous manner were they to be protected against the fleets of the enemy?

As to our finances, they were melancholy, and hardly exhibited one ray of comfort. Let the immense extent of our debts be weighed; let our resources be considered; and let us then ask, what would have been the consequence of the protraction of the war? It would have endangered the bankruptcy of public faith; and this bankruptcy, it is obvious, if it had come upon us, might have dissolved all the ties of government, and in its convulsions have operated to the general ruin.

There was an indecent levity in the manner in which the condemnation of the peace was pronounced. To accept it, or to continue the war, was the only alternative in the power of ministers. Such was the ultimatum of France. There was a time when we could have dictated to the proudest of our enemies. But that æra is passed, and the summit of glory, of which we could once vaunt, is now but a vision and a memory. At the same time, however, let it be remembered, that the peace obtained is better than was suited to the lowliness of our condition. We have acknowledged the American independence. But what is that but an empty form? The incapacity of the minister who conducted the war, a series of unprosperous events, and a vote of the house, had produced the acknowledgment. We have ceded Florida. But have we not obtained the islands of Providence and the Bahamas? We have granted an extent of fishery on the coast of Newfoundland. But have we not established an exclusive right to the most valuable banks? We have restored St. Lucia, and given up Tobago. But have we not regained Grenada, Dominica, St. Christopher's,

pher's, Nevis, and Montserrat? And have we not rescued Jamaica from inevitable danger? In Africa, we have given Goree. But Goree was the grave of our countrymen; and we have secured Fort James and the river Gambia, the best and most healthy settlement. In Europe, we have relinquished Minorca. But ought it to be forgotten, that Minorca is not tenable in war, and that in peace it must be supported at a ruinous expense? We have permitted the reparation of the port of Dunkirk. But Dunkirk could only be an object when ships of a far inferior draught to the present were in use. The change in the operations of naval war had taken away its importance. In the East Indies, cessions have been made. But let it be remarked, that these possessions are inconsiderable in themselves, and could not be protected by us in the event of hostilities. In fine, it is objected, that we have abandoned the unhappy loyalists to their implacable enemies. What is this but to impute to congress, by anticipation, a violence which common decency forbids us to expect? But let it be considered, that the principle of assisting these unfortunate men would not have justified ministers to have continued the war; nor would a continuation of the war have procured them any certain indemnity. The accumulation of our distresses must have added to theirs. A year or two hence harder terms of peace might have been forced upon our acceptance. Their fate then must have been desperate indeed. But, as matters are situated, there are hopes of mercy and reconciliation.

The conditions of peace, instead of being an object of blame, are entitled to applause. Nor indeed is the noise of opposition applied seriously to them. The present storm of faction has in view the noble lord at the head of the treasury. It is to overthrow him that an odious coalition has been thought of; and if this baneful alliance, if this ill-omened marriage is not yet solemnized, he knew of a legal impediment against it, and forbade the bans in the name of the public safety.

Lord North testified a surprise at the criminations which had been thrown out against him: Conscious
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of his own innocence, he was bold enough to defy either censure or punishment. His coalition with the noble lord whose motion was before the house, had been made on principles neither dishonourable to themselves, nor disadvantageous to the country. The character of the noble lord and his public disinterestedness were universally known, and universally extolled. He acknowledged that Mr. Fox had appeared long against him, and had exercised his eloquence with success. But though strong expressions might be mutually thrown out in the heat and ardour of debate, it did not follow that their public hostility was to last for ever, and to survive the cause which had occasioned it. He respected the political integrity of the honourable gentleman. As a friend, he was sure that he would find him to be firm, manly, and honest. As an enemy, he had experienced him to be very formidable indeed! And any minister whom he chose to oppose, would doubtless be impressed with a similar opinion. But while he was proud of the coalition to which he had been invited, he was not in consequence to make any sacrifice either of his public principles or character.

The speaker having put the question upon lord John Cavendish's fourth resolution, the ministry were again defeated, by a majority of 207 to 190.

As much misrepresentation was indulged in by the opposition party on this occasion, in order to give our reader a full and clear view of the question, we subjoin the following paper, which was drawn up by a gentleman, who had an active share in the transactions relative to the peace, and which has never before been made public.

“Some person has called the peace glorious for France, advantageous for her allies, and useful for England. The chief glory for France is, that she has not gained much for herself.

“The plan of Great Britain in the peace appears to have been to cede names rather than revenue, or the means of our security; or if we seemed to cede any thing on the head of security, it was to avoid causes of future war.

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The nature of such a peace is to give alarm as first, to those who judge by names, and not by interests.

“ A second principle too evident to dissemble, is, that England, in the present moment, has had enough of fighting, and therefore requires rest. Upon a worthier occasion of war she may find fewer enemies, or else have a part of them turned into allies, or becoming embarrassed with their own enemies; and in the interval she herself may be recruiting.

“ A third principle attends the peace which is not wanting in weight; namely, that the chief cessions (Florida and Minorca) are in the hands of the weakest power, that is, of the power that will worst defend and least prosper by them; and that we have made it equally our interest and that of America to see that there is no ill use made of these cessions; or, if there is any such use attempted, that it shall in consequence more and more unite us with America. Perhaps it was even thought unjust that a province like Florida, which the common interest of England and America might require should be recovered from Spain, should be recovered otherwise than at their common risque and expense; and it might also be conceived as idle to seek to recover a territory by force, which (at the expense of our own people and capital) might soon feel inclined to fall off to the American union.

“ A fourth principle has been before alluded to—the prevention, as much as may be, of future wars with our most serious enemy, the French; for as experience shows that humiliation is not a successful mode of tempting a haughty neighbour to love peace, it is worth trying what is to be done by removing from them unprofitable provocations; and by seeming to allow a share by consent in some things, which the fluctuations of a century show we can never permanently reserve to ourselves by force.

“ This policy, however wise, being evidently the result of necessity, yet as we indisputably could not get a better peace, the last and fifth principle left for a minister to decide upon was, whether we should have this peace,

or no peace at all. In a discussion of this question the following considerations must be useful :

“ A continuance of war in our situation was attended with peculiar embarrassments.

“ No one can state our people at more than 12 millions, or that of our enemies at less than 40 millions.

“ The conquests made from us by our enemies could only have been recovered by force, as they were refused by negotiation ; and as our enemies with great advantages spent five or six campaigns in gaining them, we are to compute how many campaigns, with fewer advantages, we should have spent in regaining them ; and whether we might not even have lost more, instead of regaining any thing.

“ We are to compute, whether these dubious chances would have been equal to the enormous expenditure of so many fresh years of war.

“ We are to compute, whether, even if our credit had lasted, our fighting men would have continued in sufficient plenty to recruit fleets and armies, mouldering away in combats, sieges, and residence in those ruinous climates, where now alone is the seat of war.

“ Allowing every thing we could hope from valour, skill, fidelity, and good fortune, we are to compute, whether six years more, even of success, would not have ruined England ; the funds prospering little by victories, and having fallen under all circumstances but the hope of peace, at the rate of five per cent. per annum.

“ It is true, our enemies were spending strength and money at the same time with ourselves ; but they were more populous ; and their want of credit, though it distressed them in war, leaves them with fewer of our burdens (which are the consequence of credit) at a peace.

“ It is a mistake to think that all our enemies wanted money. Holland is above all others to be held as a monied state, and she had supplied other powers besides herself. France is just now a little out of cash from having gambled in the English funds ; but a new financier might

might soon have repaired this incident, as her funds have risen during the war in proportion as ours have fallen. Spain only wanted to devise some mode of getting at her American treasure, or some financier that should have managed at home with justice, or with rigour. America was herself very poor, but her talent lay in doing the most of any power to impoverish us. And England herself, when she came to a war loan, would have had little to boast on the head of her wealth, or the cheap terms of the credit she procured.

“Whoever says that we could have succeeded in this, or the other enterprises of war, should recollect that he alludes to many enterprises; that each enterprise would have cost us time, and money, and men; that though each enterprise might have been probable separately, yet all could not have been probable together; and that when every thing else is favourable, a storm or calm in the elements, a quarrel, a death, a misinformation, or a blunder in our officers or ministers, may render all expeditions abortive.

“To say the best of it, our present force never can be held to have had that superiority which the idea of a certainty in conquest requires; so that gain in one part, might only have been attended with loss in another.

“Allowing our navy, though inferior in number, to be superior by their unity and skill; yet the success of war depends upon troops and finances, and many other circumstances, as well as navy. How would a mere navy have served us, if our enemies, masked by the armed neutrality for the protection of their trade, had resolved upon a defensive war by sea, and had used their fleets only to accompany secret expeditions?

“The diversion which Gibraltar had given to our enemy's force, had apparently ceased.

“The putting an end to our own diversion of force against North America, would, in the present state of things, have been of less immediate avail than we are aware of. It might have saved us money and men of war, &c. but there were many of the troops who were foreigners, and expressly excepted from service in tropical countries;

countries; and who were excluded from the British islands, by British prejudices; and who could not in prudence be trusted alone in our remaining North American settlements. The corps of troops therefore to be removed with safety from America, was not so prodigiously superior to the French corps now removed under M. Rochambeau, as to leave any formidable balance of troops to export from thence in our favour.

“ When we had evacuated New-York, New-York upon changing hands would have been converted into an asylum for French and Spanish ships of war, especially in the hurricane months; and this, not only by its port, but by its stores and provisions. Our own fleet must have retired to Halifax under considerable comparative disadvantages. New ports also would have been opened for American exports and imports, both respecting the West Indies and Europe; and there would have been a new shelter offered for our enemies private cruizers and trading vessels, which would have been taken away from our own.

“ The situation of our enemies in Europe would have enabled them at any time to detach an armament from Cadiz, a month before we could follow it with another from England: And how many of our West India islands can stand the siege of a month?

“ Their situation enabled them also to detach to the East Indies, at the end of the spring season; when it would have been out of our power to follow them.

“ A small armament would have given them a balance in the East Indies.

“ It would have been easy for an European land power, like France, to have embarrassed us in the East Indies; because in a large extent of coast it is difficult to suppose that our squadron, even though superior, could be everywhere. Country powers would have aided their landing of troops; and European officers and troops might have effected much in favour of the country powers.

“ The French and Dutch were both turning their attention to this quarter of the globe; the one for attack, the other for defence.

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“ In the East Indies the French had every thing to gain, and nothing to lose ; and therefore were a bad enemy to add to the native ones, whom we had before found in too great numbers in that country.

“ In the West Indies, a victorious fleet produced us no conquests ; but the French in the West Indies (in consequence of their fortifications and garrisons, which permitted their fleet to go out of sight) employed their troops in effecting conquests at a time when their fleet was scarcely equal.

“ The Dutch were at last inclined to do something abroad ; and, whatever use they were likely to make of their force at home, they were certainly augmenting it.

“ The conquests we have made from the French, Spaniards, and Dutch, were made when we first entered upon war with each of them. We were at all times equally prepared for an enemy, and they were found successively unprepared. Since they have got into a warlike posture, these things can no longer be so easy to us ; and they are to be expected to become less and less easy, because at the same time that the enemy are increasing in the means of their defence, we are decreasing in the powers of vigorous and general attack (especially by land).

“ The French foreign settlements were become compact ; and the few enterprises that could remain against them, required the most serious efforts to be successful. Holland also had nothing to lose in the West Indies but Curaçoa ; and Spain, nothing that could be easily gained. In the West Indies we might have ruined any one of our own subdued islands, by attempting to wrest it back from the conquerors by force, as those conquerors would probably have shown no tenderness to our settlers in their mode of defending it ; and we had eight or ten separate objects of conquest, which we (in return) offered in different parts of the world to an enemy.

“ Captures at sea had grown as rare in proportion, as conquests on shore, and upon much the same principles (especially by the aid of neutral shipping).

“ As to fighting men, the zeal of our people was collectively and individually applied to, and found inadequate to the supply of recruits and volunteers; or at least, when volunteer forces offered themselves, they were found to be too little under the control of government, to be thought by many useful or even safe.

“ The disposable savings or gains of all ranks and parties accumulated since the preceding war (which alone should supply the funds of European fighting nations) were for the moment fully absorbed and consumed by so general a war; and our latter public loans were chiefly made at the expense of useful undertakings in farming and in trade. Of course interest was rising, and rents and trade drooping; till at last interest was becoming ruinous to government itself.

“ Lands had fallen five and ten years in their purchase; rents and mortgages were ill paid; and private bankruptcies had become frequent.

“ Trade was embarrassed from other causes besides high interest. The American commerce, that vast article in our resources, was proscribed by both parties. The West India trade was reduced a third by conquest, and the remainder loaded with expenses produced by hurricanes, famine, high freights, captures, and militia duty. Other trades were greatly distressed; and neutral mariners and merchants were learning our secrets, and draining away our wealth. Privateering was a doubtful resource to a few; and those few had their systems checkered and their manners often injured by sudden changes of fortune. It is true that war thinned the numbers of the distressed, and, like a great trading consumer, gave much employment to others; but in this, England resembled an animal feeding upon its own flesh; the sustenance was temporary, and the injury permanent. (Who will ever again see the labour and commodities which war has necessarily taken from the common stock and consumed, and yet who will ever cease to see the taxes we must annually pay for what has thus perished?)

“ The harvest had failed in England and great part of Europe, and hunger being very mutinous, and given to
discontents

discontents (which faction would have gladly fostered), no one could foretell the extremity of this evil ; besides that several of our principal taxes were liable to be affected by the scarcity.

“ Several other taxes also that had failed were to be replaced, others were grievous and must be changed, and a new loan must at all events call for fresh taxes. We are therefore to add to the taxes we felt in the last year, the effects of taxes which have scarcely yet operated, and of the taxes which must still be brought forwards. War would have made these burdens still more severe ; so that, under the present influence of peace, and of our restored credit, dominion, and trade, we shall perhaps form no proper idea of what would have been their extent in war.

“ Almost all the above evils were by the clearest evidence increasing. It remains to be asked, whether peace has left or produced any evils without doors, at all equivalent to these evils which it has removed within.

“ Senegal River had a trade of 70 or 80,000l. gross amount per annum, which yielded, it may be supposed, 5 or 6000l. per annum, mercantile profits. The peace has, therefore, by this article (in part) transferred the profits of a single mercantile house to France, and some trifle also of public revenue. But though a permanent peace required the French to have some share in Africa, yet we have yielded them more in sound than in value ; as Gambia is a finer and more navigable river, having a rich country on both of its sides, and better connecting us with the gold coast. We have got also some equivalent for the Senegal gum, in bees-wax, &c. besides that a gum trade, which we could force while it was illegal, ought still to be held accessible to us now that it is legalized.

“ Goree is of no present use, but as a drain for men and money ; and for this very purpose it was given to our enemies.

“ Tobago is an island that does not produce more than double the returns of Senegal, and has no advantages
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that are not held in common with one or other of our remaining islands. The high duties upon sugar and rum may soon produce too many British planters of cotton; and cotton, it should be recollected, yields no national revenue upon its import.

“ The French had always a share of the Newfoundland fishery acknowledged even after our last successful war, and no peace could be made, or be made permanent, without it. We have now only shifted their fishing boundaries, which, if measured according to the coastings laid down in the late admiralty maps, give up nothing in extent, but gain something for us in their position; and we have restored two small islands in full right, which are affirmed to be incapable of receiving large ships, and which by treaty they before had the use of. But experience shows, that let treaties make what provision of rights they please, the benefit to be derived from them depends upon distinct principles, since, with greater advantages of fishery and of fortification, the French in this quarter have never in past time abounded either in seamen or stability of possession.

“ In the East Indies, the French have gained little by the peace, and they might probably have acquired much more by the war; their chief late possessions there being factories, which are soon lost and soon recovered by force; and as Pondicherry is yet to be rebuilt, the country powers might have given France some other equivalent situation, as the price of their alliance. As to our India company, they ought never to forget that commerce is their true object, and that in point of calculation even successful wars are against them; but at present, embarrassed as they are with the country powers, and formidable as those powers are growing by means of European interference, one should think they cannot regret a peace, which they themselves have attempted to purchase with higher sacrifices from the country powers alone, and which may give them leisure to recruit the finances and dominions of themselves and of their allies.

“ At Dunkirk we have surrendered a privilege that was infinitely more ignominious to the enemy than useful
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to us, and which therefore between equals was a certain source of restlessness. In losing it we have lost a danger; and we had better submit to a few privateers in war (which no commissary in peace can prevent), than prompt the return of war itself. Not to mention that Dunkirk is useful to our Low Country trade, and will make no difference in favour of smuggling. As to its being a naval station for men of war of modern size, the idea is not only against nature, but against the policy of the French, as they would injure their naval force by such distant separation of it.

“ The Spaniards have got Minorca, a worthless island, which the events of two wars prove that we cannot defend. Our fortifications in the Mediterranean were overdone; and there is the less harm in this loss, as we may expend the same strength upon more valuable objects. If we had recovered Minorca, we must have rebuilt these works, merely to lose them again. Of what use too is this fortress in peace; and what was its use in the present war, but for privateers? It is well perhaps that we have lost this means of diverting an enemy's force, as the jealousy arising from its being in our possession (together with Gibraltar), possibly contributed to excite the Spanish war itself, which war is therefore evidently to be considered as a prior and superior diversion operating against ourselves.

“ The Floridas, to have been completely useful, must have been cultivated. We have therefore done little more than cede vacant lands, which we should have sold for a small sum of money to any body of adventurers, and may carry the men and capital they would have required to settle them, elsewhere.

“ The island of Jamaica yields four or five times the revenue produced by all these cessions put together: And who knows but the war, in the course of a year or two, might have lost or damaged this island for us, or something still more important in the East Indies?

“ So much for the dark side of the question; for on the other side, we find that the peace has secured to us our two great funds of external revenue in the East, and in
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the West Indies ; besides restoring to us an option of immense American trade, and a possible alliance ; and putting an end to all the further losses and expenses which must have awaited the continuance of the war.

“ The peace therefore is cheaply bought, considering the folly of war as matter of calculation ; the state of distress and debility we were in ; the balance of possessions our enemies had in hand against us ; the small body of faithful subjects we could have relied upon with certainty to carry us through (the state of Ireland and Scotland considered) ; the necessity there was to renew our acquaintance with America, lest she should be estranged ; the disproportion of force there was fighting against us ; and the length of time and the cost that even success would have required for reinstating us.

“ Let those who decide upon war and peace upon principles of pride, recollect how much our pride caused us to suffer by first producing the war ; and that the sort of pride which will not condescend to put a stop to a regular course of ruin, because it would cost a present effort, gives into false calculations, since that is the most provident pride which seeks for prosperity as its basis. The other pride will cause ruin, and disgrace us in the eyes of all persons but ourselves, and would finally be subdued even by our own passions, because we may be assured, that if it did not meet a master to quell it in foresight, it would at last certainly have found one in necessity. This small but important effort now, therefore, is better than destruction, and a greater though ineffectual mortification hereafter.”

From the late decision it was obvious that some change in administration must inevitably take place ; but the court hoped that a partial change might suffice. Various conferences were held on the subject of a new arrangement ; but the *coalition*, knowing their own strength, were determined not to deviate in any point from their preconcerted plan. More than a month passed in a kind of ministerial interregnum. At length Mr. Coke, member for Norfolk, moved an address to the king, “ that he would be graciously pleased to take into consideration
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the distracted and unsettled state of the empire, and condescend to a compliance with the wishes of this house, by forming an administration entitled to the confidence of his people." This was unanimously carried, and presented to the king by such members of the house as were privy-counsellors. His majesty replied, "that it was his earnest desire to do every thing in his power to comply with the wishes of his faithful commons." This answer not giving satisfaction, lord Surry moved in a few days another address, framed in very strong and pointed terms—"assuring his majesty that all delays in a matter of this moment have an inevitable tendency to weaken the authority of his government; and *most humbly entreating* his majesty that he will take such measures towards this object as may quiet the anxiety and apprehension of his faithful subjects." But Mr. Pitt declaring that he had resigned his office of chancellor of the exchequer, and that any resolution or address relative to a new arrangement of administration was unnecessary, lord Surry consented to withdraw his motion: And the ministers, who, reluctant to quit the luxury of power, had lingered in office to the last moment, now gave place to their determined and victorious antagonists.

The duke of Portland was placed at the head of the treasury; and lord John Cavendish was re-appointed chancellor of the exchequer; lord North and Mr. Fox were nominated joint secretaries of state, the first for the home, the latter for the foreign department; lord Keppel, who had recently resigned on account of his disapprobation of the peace, was again placed at the head of the admiralty; lord Stormont was created president of the council; and lord Carlisle was advanced to the post of lord privy seal. The great seal was put into commission—the chief justice Loughborough, so distinguished for political versatility, "who could change and change and yet *go on*," being declared first lord commissioner; the earl of Northington was appointed to the government of Ireland; and Mr. Burke reinstated in his former post of paymaster of the forces.

One of the first measures of the new ministry was to expedite the passing of a bill, before pending, “for the purpose of preventing any writs of error or appeal from the kingdom of Ireland from being received by any of his majesty’s courts in Great Britain; and of renouncing, in express terms, the legislative authority of the British parliament in relation to Ireland.” This was a necessary consequence of the general plan of Irish emancipation; for the mere repeal of the declaratory act did not, in the view of the common law, make any difference whatever in the relative situation of the two countries.

Soon after this, a bill was introduced by sir Henry Fletcher, chairman of the East India company, “for suspending the payments of the company now due to the royal exchequer, and for enabling them to borrow the sum of 300,000 l. for their farther relief.”

Lord John Cavendish declared this bill to be only a branch of a larger plan; and that it was brought forward separately, in order to answer an exigency which did not admit of delay. His lordship viewed the territorial acquisitions of the company as a fruitful source of grievance. “It would,” he said, “have been more for their advantage, had they confined themselves to the character of merchants. As these acquisitions, however, had been made, they must be preserved, and it was his opinion that the relief necessary to the company should be granted.”

Lord Fitzwilliam, in the upper house, dwelt on the almost desperate situation of the East India company, and affirmed, “that, unless it passed, their bankruptcy would be inevitable. The expenditure of their settlements had far exceeded their revenue; bills had been drawn upon them which they were unable to answer without a temporary supply, so that the existence of the company depended upon the success of the bill;” which accordingly passed both houses with little difficulty or opposition.

In the month of April 1783, the chancellor of the exchequer brought forward his plan for raising twelve millions by loan. The most remarkable circumstance attending it was, that the money borrowed was funded at
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three per cent. at the extravagant rate of one hundred and fifty pounds stock for every hundred pounds sterling; so that an artificial capital of six millions was created beyond and above the sum actually paid into the exchequer. This absurd and pernicious mode of funding was exposed and reprobated with much ability by Mr. Pitt in the lower house, and the earl of Shelburne in the upper, but with no effect.

The former motion of Mr. Pitt for an inquiry into the state of the representation being negatived, he now brought forward, May 7, a specific plan for adding one hundred members to the counties, and abolishing a proportionable number of the burgage-tenure and other small and obnoxious boroughs. This plan, though supported by Mr. Fox, was negatived by a great majority; the numbers on the division being 293 to 149. As there must of course ever be a stronger opposition against any specific plan of reform in the first instance, than to a comprehensive and general motion of inquiry only, the latter is evidently the most politic as well as reasonable mode of introducing the question to the notice and discussion of the house; and had it been adopted by Mr. Pitt on this occasion, it could not have so egregiously failed of success. The motion was opposed in a very able speech by lord North, who with an happy allusive pleasantry declared, "that, while some with Lear demanded an hundred knights, and others with Goneril were satisfied with fifty, he with Regan exclaimed, No, not one!" His lordship, in a graver and more argumentative strain, said, "It was not true that the house of commons had not its full and proper weight in the scale of government;—his political life was a proof that it had. It was parliament that had made him a minister. He came amongst them without connexion. It was to them he was indebted for his rise, and they had pulled him down;—he had been the creature of their opinion and of their power;—his political career was consequently a proof of their independence;—the voice of the commons was sufficient to remove whatever was displeasing to the sentiments and wishes of the country; and in such a situation

to *parade* about a reformation was idle, unnecessary, inexpedient, and dangerous." This reasoning might, perhaps, have had some degree of weight, could it be lost to the public recollection, that the noble lord was originally advanced to the premiership by the *fiat* of the *executive power*, and was continued in office, during the first and last years of his administration at least, by the influence of the same power, in daring contrariety to the clear, unanimous, and decided sense of the nation. His lordship's compulsive resignation at the last, proved only that there are limits, beyond which even the compliance of the representative body does not extend: And the infatuation of the ministers became at length so notorious, that parliament, alarmed at their rashness, and astonished at their folly, happily and critically interposed to save the nation from destruction.

The independence of judges is a subject of at least as much *practical* importance as the reform of parliament; and this subject was ably urged by the duke of Richmond, on the 3d of June, when he introduced a motion respecting the great seal being put into commission. His grace stated with the irresistible force of good sense and truth the obvious necessity of making the bench of justice completely independent, as the only means of making it completely incorrupt. Every possibility of exciting either a hope or fear in any of the judges should be entirely precluded. Their salaries should be all upon an equality, their seats permanent; and government should have nothing to bestow upon them, when once elevated to that important office.

The duke strongly censured the impropriety of mingling the character of a judge with that of a politician, by assigning to some of them seats in that house. He instanced several cases where such an arrangement had the worst effects; and mentioned certain lord chancellors, who, before they had seats in the house of lords, had the misfortune frequently to have their decrees reversed; but who never experienced the mortification of a reversal, after they were elevated to the dignity of the peerage.

In the latter end of June, in consequence of a message from his majesty, the sum of 50,000*l.* per annum was settled by parliament upon the prince of Wales, to be paid out of the civil list, and a sum of 60,000*l.* was voted for his immediate expenses.

About the same period, a bill was introduced by lord John Cavendish, and passed, for abolishing certain offices in the exchequer, such as the chamberlain and usher, and for regulating the emoluments of others.---The profits of the auditor were to be reduced from 7000*l.* to 4000*l.* per annum; and those of the clerk of the pells from 3300*l.* to 3000*l.*: The salary of each teller was to be fixed both in peace and war at 2700*l.*; whereas, by the former arrangement, the profits in war were immense.---The deputies of the tellers were to have each 1000*l.* per annum; that of the clerk of the pells 800*l.* and his receiver 200*l.* In the debates which ensued on these proposals, the emoluments were censured by some members, particularly by Mr. Pulteney and Mr. Pitt, as being still enormous, and as a most extravagant expenditure of the public treasure.

While it cannot be denied that there is some truth and justice in these observations, it would still be uncandid to reproach the integrity of the chancellor of the exchequer, because his endeavours in the cause of reformation fell, in these instances, short of the expectation of his friends. His lordship, possibly, did all he could; for it is not always in the power of a single minister to effect every measure to which he may be disposed; and the unfortunate junction which the whigs had formed with a base and tory faction, might probably lay him under a constraint in most instances painful and opposite to his own feelings. The conduct of another distinguished patriot at this period, will, perhaps, not admit of so favourable a defence. In the course of the session, Mr. Burke incurred no inconsiderable disgrace, by a transaction, the principal features of which it will be proper to remark.

The industry of the commissioners of public accounts, among other abuses, had discovered, in the accounts of the

the pay-office, a fraudulent concealment of a sum amounting to upwards of 48,000l.; and in consequence of their representation, a criminal prosecution was commenced against Mr. Powell, the cashier, and Mr. Bembridge, the accountant; and their delinquency appeared to colonel Barrié in so gross and flagitious a light, that he dismissed them from their respective offices. Mr. Burke, upon his accession to the office of paymaster, saw *the matter in a different point of view*, and, to the surprise of most people, reinstated them in office. So unaccountable a proceeding produced warm debates at several times in the house of commons, in the course of which, Powell and Bembridge were described by Mr. (since lord) Kenyon, as “notorious offenders;” and Mr. Martin pronounced “their restoration to office to be a most daring insult to the public.” They were defended by Mr. Fox and Mr. Rigby, on general principles, as having been usually considered as men of honour, and as having acquitted themselves to the satisfaction of their principals. But Mr. Burke defended their conduct in much warmer terms, and took God to witness, that in restoring them to their places he was *solely actuated by motives of justice!* He described Mr. Powell as “one of the most responsible men in the kingdom. He had grown rich in office; and his *great property* might be stated as a *security* for his *honesty*.” Notwithstanding the ardour of Mr. Burke’s defence, however, the house was so little satisfied, that Mr. Powell was obliged to resign his office, and Mr. Bembridge was suspended, till the trial at law should be terminated.

Mr. Powell did not survive to justify the warm assertions of his friend, Mr. Burke; but, previous to his trial, sunk under the weight of public ignominy, and put an end to his own existence. Mr. Bembridge was tried before the court of king’s bench, and his counsel endeavoured in vain to throw the whole criminality upon the late Mr. Powell.—He was found guilty, and sentenced to a fine of 2600l. and six months imprisonment in the king’s bench.

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GOVERNOR HASTINGS.

Though the late ministry did not retain their power a sufficient time to fulfil the splendid promises of reform, which they had held out to the public, their activity, in this respect, was probably not abated, by being out of office. On the 2d of June, therefore, Mr. W. Pitt brought in a bill for preventing abuses, and establishing regulations in the treasury, admiralty, ordnance, excise, stamp, and other public offices. In detailing the motives for introducing the present plan of regulation, Mr. Pitt laid open a scene of most wasteful expenditure, and glaring corruption, which had been carried on in these several offices under a late administration.—He mentioned, in pointed terms, the notorious sale of offices and places: He showed, that in the navy-office it was pretended that they did not receive fees; but, though the name fee was not applied to their emoluments, it appeared, that enormous sums were received, or rather extorted, as *gifts*. The chief clerk of the navy-office had a salary of 250l. a year; but he received in *gifts* to the amount of 2500l.! the other clerks, whose salaries were smaller, received gifts in proportion: These gifts Mr. Pitt termed “the wages of corruption.”

In the same manner, the place of secretary to the post-office was legally worth 600l. but its profits exceeded 3000l. To these Mr. Pitt added some instances of prodigal expenditure. In the time of lord North, the repairs of the minister's house, in Downing-street, *had cost the public*, in one year, the enormous sum of TEN THOUSAND POUNDS! Bushy-Park had also its share of expense. The consumption of stationary wares, by the officers in the different departments of government, might be termed a *depredation* on the public: It exceeded the annual sum of 18,000l.---The noble lord in the blue ribband, himself, the year before last, had cost the public 1300l, for stationary; and one article in this bill was most particularly curious, it was an item of no less than 340l. for *whipcord*!

Mr. Burke opposed the bill, and attempted to ridicule the project of reform.---It was also opposed by lord John Cavendish, on the ground that the offices might be as effectually,

fectually, and certainly at less expense, reformed, by the principals in each office endeavouring to correct the abuses within their respective departments. This argument was, however, very successfully overturned by Mr. Pitt, who ridiculed the idea of the very persons who practised abuses being selected to correct and reform their own errors and bad conduct. With some difficulty, the bill effected its progress through the house of commons, but was rejected by a majority of almost two to one in the house of lords.

An adjudication of the house of lords against the shameful and corrupt practice of giving general bonds of resignation on presentations to ecclesiastical benefices, in which Dr. Watson, who had been created bishop of Landaff by lord Shelburne, particularly distinguished himself; and the granting pensions to lord Rodney and general Elliot; were the only circumstances that occurred in parliament deserving of being recorded, besides those that have been before related. The session closed on the 16th of July, with a speech from the throne, in the course of which his majesty intimated, that the affairs of India would shortly demand a very serious and unremitting consideration.

The operations of war, which in Europe and America were suspended by the negotiations for peace, were continued in the East Indies with unabating vigour to the summer of 1783.

M. de Suffrein, after his unsuccessful attack upon the English squadron and convoy in Port Praya Bay, fulfilled, however (as we have formerly seen), the second object of his commission, by defeating the hostile designs of the English against the Dutch settlements at the Cape of Good Hope; and having left a sufficient French garrison behind for their future protection, proceeded, with the remainder of his force, to join M. de Ovres, who was his superior in command, at the island of Mauritius. Upon this junction, the French commanders having now a force of ten sail of the line, beside one fifty-gun ship, and several large frigates, they sailed for the coast of Coromandel, being accompanied by a number of transports and

and storeships, together with a considerable body of land forces; and M. de Ovres dying on the passage, the sole command of the fleet devolved on M. de Suffrein.

The British squadron and convoy under the conduct of captain Alms, with the troops under general Meadows, which had departed for India while the French were still at the Cape, met with such extraordinary delays, through adverse winds, and a succession of exceedingly bad weather, that they were exposed to the greatest danger of falling in, shattered and dispersed as they were, with the united force of the enemy, who had sailed so much later from the Mauritius than they had done from the Cape. The Hannibal, of fifty guns, happened to be the only victim to this unlooked-for danger. That ship being entirely separated from the rest, found herself in very dark and tempestuous weather, in the centre of the French fleet, before she could be in any degree aware of her situation, and was, after a gallant but fruitless defence, of necessity taken. The other ships of war, and the convoy, arrived, dispersed and late, at the places of their destination.

Admiral sir Edward Hughes, after the taking of Trincomalé, was obliged, on the last day of January 1782, to set sail for Madras, in order to procure a large supply of stores and provisions; articles which his ships, after the long and hard service they had undergone, could not but now stand in great need of. His squadron consisted only of six ships of the line; and these had been so long at sea, as to be necessarily much out of condition, and their crews much weakened by loss and sickness. Upon his arrival in Madras road, on the 8th of February 1782, he received intelligence from lord Macartney, the governor, that a French fleet, amounting to 30 sail of all sorts, had arrived upon the coast, taken several vessels, and were then supposed not to be above 20 leagues to the northward. In this alarming and critical situation, exposed in an open road to the attack of so superior an enemy, and that even before he could get the necessary supplies on board, the admiral was most fortunately reinforced on the following day, by the arrival of captain Alms,

Alms, in the Monmouth, of 64 guns, accompanied by the Hero of 74, and the Isis of 50 guns.

The admiral used the utmost despatch in getting the necessary stores and provisions on board, while sir Eyre Coote, with his usual zeal and attention to all parts of the service, strengthened the squadron by the much-wanted supply of a detachment of 300 officers and men of the newly-arrived 98th regiment; who were accordingly distributed by the admiral in those ships which were the weakest in point of men. This despatch was fully necessary; for on the 15th of February, and before the ships had yet completed their equipment, the French fleet appeared suddenly in the offing, consisting of twelve sail of line of battle ships (including the English Hannibal, and another fifty), six frigates, eight large transports, and six captured vessels. The enemy, after standing in directly for Madras, seemed at once to receive some unexpected check in their design, and suddenly cast anchor, at noon, about four miles without the road; while the English admiral was busily employed in placing his ships in the most advantageous positions for covering and protecting the numerous vessels which lay within side of them, and in clapping springs upon their cables, in order that they might bring their broadsides to bear full upon the enemy in his approach.

The sudden change of motion and design which appeared on the side of the French commander, proceeded from the unexpected discovery, and consequent disappointment, which his near approach had produced. He had no previous knowledge, or even idea, of the arrival of the three ships of war from England. He had proceeded to Madras under the most flattering illusion; that of signalizing his entrance into action by the glory of determining a war of such importance and magnitude by a single blow. He made sure of finding the British admiral with only five, or at the most six ships of the line, and these entirely out of condition, and unprepared, lying without shelter in the open road of Madras; and he considered them as a cheap and easy prey already in his hands. The loss of the numerous trading and provision

tion ships in the road, would complete the distraction and calamity of the town; while the French forces, being joined with Hyder Ally's numerous army, carried on their joint attacks against it by land, and the squadron besieged it by sea. Any resistance it could make in such circumstances, was not deemed an object worthy of consideration.

These splendid hopes being overthrown, by the immediate discovery of nine English ships of war (instead of five) drawn up to receive him in the road, all views of attack were abandoned, and, at four o'clock in the afternoon, M. de Suffrein suddenly weighed anchor, and stood off to the southward. This example was immediately followed by the English admiral, who as suddenly weighed anchor, and standing out of the road in their sight, pursued the enemy through the course of the night. At day-break he perceived that their fleet had separated in the night, and were then in different directions; their twelve line of battle ships and a frigate were in a body, bearing east of the British fleet, and at about four leagues distance, while the other frigates, with the transports, were standing to the south-west, at about three leagues distance, and making directly for Pondicherry.

Upon this discovery of their situation, sir Edward Hughes instantly threw out the signal for a general chase to the south-west; for besides the temptation held out by the convoy, he knew, that as Suffrein, with the line of battle ships, must unavoidably return to their rescue, it afforded the only certain means of bringing him to action; and his superiority in number and force was not sufficient to deter the British admiral from appealing to this issue. In the course of the chase, the copper-bottomed ships came up with and took six vessels of the convoy, of which five were English prizes, newly taken, with their crews on board; but the sixth, taken by captain Lumley, in the Isis, proved to be the Lauriston, a huge French transport of 1300 tons burden; and deeply laden with a cargo of the utmost possible value and consequence to both parties; it consisting of a considerable
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train of artillery (intended for a present to Hyder), of a large quantity of gunpowder, and of a complete assortment of other military stores. This valuable prize had likewise on board a number of land officers, together with 300 soldiers of the regiment of Laufanne.

Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the spirit which dictated this bold and masterly manœuvre. The pursuit of so superior an enemy, and the chase and attack of the convoy under its eye, are strokes of such a nature, as to be, perhaps, almost without example. It was indeed a pity, that the effect could not be equal to the judgment and merit of the design, through the want of frigates, a few of which would have secured the whole of the enemy's convoy and troops; and thereby have overthrown at once, all the schemes formed for supporting and assisting Hyder Ally by land. The Sea Horse, of 20 guns, was the only frigate in company with the squadron; and she was so totally insufficient in point of strength, that, instead of taking others, she was with no small difficulty saved from being taken herself, when she got entangled with the heavy, powerful, and well-armed French transports, filled, as they were, besides with troops. The line of battle ships were too few, and the enemy too near, to admit of their being much separated; and there were no others for chasing.

As soon as the French squadron perceived the danger of their convoy, they put before the wind with all the sail they could carry, in the hope of bearing down in time to their relief. The various course in almost every direction which the flying vessels of the convoy had taken, each hoping that pursued by himself might be the most fortunate in evading the danger, necessarily led the English chasing ships to be considerably scattered, and drew them likewise by degrees, to a great distance from the body of the squadron. In these circumstances, sir Edward Hughes perceiving, about three o'clock, that M. de Suffrein was bearing down fast upon him, and that his best sailers were already within two or three miles of the sternmost of the English, he found himself under a necessity

cessity of recalling the chasers, who were just then getting into the most essential part of their service; the *Iris*, in particular, having come up with two more of the transports, which she was obliged to abandon. In order to secure the prizes, he at the same time ordered that they should be sent off directly to Negapatam.

The chasing ships having rejoined the admiral, the hostile squadrons continued within sight of each other during the night; and at daylight, the enemy were perceived to the north-east, at about three leagues distance. The weather was very unfavourable to all naval operation; or at least afforded no room for reliance on the effect of any evolution, however judicious; for besides its being dark and hazy, sudden and frequent squalls of wind, were as suddenly succeeded by dead calms; so that though sir Edward Hughes threw out the signal for the line of battle a-head at six in the morning, it was with great difficulty, though with so small a number of ships, that it could be formed by half past eight o'clock. His object was to weather the enemy, in order to bring on so close an engagement, and to lead up his ships so compactly into action, that their mutual and collected efforts might make so powerful an impression, as should prevent the effect of that superiority in number and force which he had to encounter. But all his diligence and ability were unequal to the accomplishment of this purpose; the perverseness of the weather was not to be subdued; and the squally wind, irregular and uncertain as it seemed, was constantly in favour of the enemy when it blew at all.

Having perceived about noon, that they were bearing down in an irregular double line a-breast, towards the rear of the squadron, which through the want of wind was somewhat separated, he threw out the signal for the line of battle a-breast, in order to draw it closer to the centre, and thereby frustrate their design of breaking in upon his line. After various other movements, all tending to close his line, and to render the engagement general instead of partial, while the enemy directed all their efforts to fall upon his rear, the English admiral finding at length, that, situated as he was to leeward, and without

wind

wind sufficient to work his ships, no management could prevent his being forced into action upon disadvantageous terms, he submitted at once to the necessity, and threw out the signal to form the line of battle a-head.

Through these untoward circumstances, M. de Suffrein was enabled to bring eight of his best ships to direct their whole attack upon five of the English, of which the Isis, of 50 guns, was one; while the Eagle, Monmouth, Worcester, and Burford, four of their best ships, under the most approved commanders, were idle spectators in the van, without a possibility of coming to the assistance of their fellows. Sir Edward Hughes was in the Superbe, of 74 guns, which formed the central ship; the four below the admiral were, the Hero, captain Wood, of the same force; the Isis, Lumley; the Monarca, Gell, of 68 guns; and the Exeter, of 64; the latter commanded by commodore King and captain Reynolds. Upon these the attack fell.

The squadron being then on the larboard tack, the Exeter was the sternmost ship, and being, through the failure of wind, as well as from her being a bad sailer, considerably separated from her second a-head, three of the French ships bore down directly upon her, and commenced a furious attack; while M. de Suffrein, in the Heros, with several other ships, bore down in the same manner upon the Superbe, and fell with no less fury upon the admiral. It was evidently their design, at all events, to disable those two ships; while they seemed to intend little more than to keep the intermediate ones in play, while this business was doing, and never once extended their attack beyond the centre. These two ships were of course exceedingly hard pressed, and could not avoid suffering extremely under such a weight of fire, as was poured on all sides upon them.

Yet after enduring all these disadvantages for about two hours, and sorely wounded as they had been in that time, a squall of wind coming suddenly in their favour at six o'clock, the five English ships became in turn the aggressors, and renewed the action with such vigour and effect, that in 25 minutes time, it being then near dark, those

those of the enemy within their reach, after having visibly sustained considerable loss, suddenly hauled their wind, and the whole French Squadron stood off to the north-east.

The *Superbe*, besides having her main-yard shot to pieces in the flings, and neither a brace nor a bowline left entire, was so severely wounded in her hull, that at the time the enemy bore away, she had no less than five feet water in her hold; and it was not until a number of the largest shot-holes under water were plugged up, that it could be prevented from gaining on the pumps. The state of the *Exeter* had been the most calamitous through the action, that could almost be possibly imagined. She had undergone the fire in all directions of almost the whole French Squadron, and had from three to five ships at times laid upon her, until she was at length reduced nearly to a wreck, and if it had not been for the prompt and gallant assistance of captain Wood, of the *Hero*, she could scarcely have escaped going to the bottom.

Captain Stephens, of the admiral's ship, and captain Reynolds, of the commodore's, two brave and distinguished officers, lost their lives in this unequal and imperfect action. The whole loss of men amounted to 32 slain, and 95 wounded; of which 30 of the former, and 87 of the latter, were in the *Superbe*, *Exeter*, and *Hero*. The unshaken fortitude displayed by commodore King under the long pressure of so vast a superiority of force, and the fierce attack of so many fresh ships coming up in succession to take a close and steady aim as at a dead mark, while they still expected that every broadside must have decided the fate of the *Exeter*, could not have been sufficiently praised or admired. In the most desperate state of the action, the blood and mangled brains of captain Reynolds were dashed over him by a cannon ball in such a manner, that he was for some little time absolutely blinded; yet he still preserved a most admirable equality and composure of temper; and when at the close of the action, and the *Exeter* already in the state of a wreck, the master came to ask him what he should do with the ship, as two of the enemy were again bearing down upon
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her, he laconically answered, "There is nothing to be done but to fight her till she sinks."

The enemy being out of sight in the morning, and the masts of the *Superbe* and *Exeter* having received so much damage as rendered it unsafe to carry sail on them, while many of the shot-holes were so far under water that they could not be stopped at sea, the admiral found it necessary to proceed to Trincomalé, where only their damages could be repaired.

This business being hastily performed, the admiral returned before the middle of March, with the Squadron to Madras, having neither seen nor heard of the enemy. He was on his way back to Trincomalé, with a reinforcement of troops and a supply of military stores for that garrison, when, on the 30th of March, he was joined by the *Sultan* and *Magnanime* ships of war, of 74 guns each, from England. These ships, having had a very tedious and bad passage, were extremely sickly, their crews being much weakened and reduced by the scurvy and its concomitant disorders; but the admiral, notwithstanding, considered the service he was upon as too urgent, to admit of his returning to Madras for the mere purpose of landing the sick and scorbutic; for besides the necessity of securing Trincomalé against the designs of an enemy now so powerful by sea and land, he had another object no less immediately interesting and important in view, which was to cover and receive the convoy with troops and stores from England, only a small part of which had yet arrived, the rest having put into Morebat Bay some weeks before, and being then on their way to join him at an appointed rendezvous. He accordingly kept on his course, with an intention of neither seeking nor shunning the enemy.

But the same object, though with different views, which affected the conduct of the English admiral, operated no less upon that of the enemy. For they likewise, knowing the expected approach of the convoy, determined to use every effort to cut it off, or at least to prevent the junction. In the pursuit of this design, the French fleet, amounting to 18 sail, appeared in the north-east

east quarter, and to leeward of the English, on the 8th of April. The British admiral held on his course, and the enemy continued in fight, and holding the same relative position, during that and the three succeeding days; but having made the coast of Ceylon, about 15 leagues to windward of Trincomalé, on the last of them, sir Edward Hughes, in pursuance of his original intention, bore away directly for that place. This change of course took place in the evening, and most unfortunately afforded an opportunity to the enemy of gaining the wind of the English squadron in the night. With this advantage on their side, they were discovered at break of day crowding all the sail they could carry in pursuit, and their coppered-bottomed ships coming up so fast with the rear, that an action became unavoidable.

At nine in the morning (April 12th, 1782), sir Edward Hughes accordingly made a signal for the line of battle a-head on the starboard tack, at two cables length distance asunder, the enemy being then north by east, within about six miles distance, and the wind in the same quarter. Nothing could have been more untoward to the English, whether with respect to time, place, or circumstance, than this engagement. They were hemmed in upon a most rocky and dangerous coast, by an enemy much superior in every respect, with the wind full in his favour, so that he had it in his power to choose the mode of his attacks, to direct them to those points he saw most to his advantage, and to withhold them as he liked. This leisure, and variety of choice, accordingly occasioned their spending about three hours in various manœuvres, during which time they so frequently changed the position of their ships and line, as seemed to indicate no small want of determination.

Having thus taken full time for deliberation, five sail, which composed their van, stretched along to engage that of the English, while the admiral, with the other seven ships of the line, bore down directly in a body upon sir Edward Hughes, who, in the *Superbe*, was in the centre of his line, and upon his two seconds, the *Monmouth*, captain Alms, a-head, and the *Monarca*, Gell, a-stern.

The engagement began about half past one in the van, and within a few minutes after, M. de Suffrein, in the *Heros*, and his second a-stern, the *L'Orient*, both of 74 guns, bore down within pistol shot of the *Superbe*, and pouring in a torrent of fire, continued to engage her so close, and with such extraordinary fierceness, that it was the general opinion, their intention was to board, and endeavour to carry her by a *coup de main*. The French admiral held this adventurous position, giving and receiving a most dreadful fire, for about ten minutes; but he found the encounter so exceedingly rough, and his ship had suffered so much apparent damage in that short time, that making room for the ships that were coming up to supply his place, he suddenly shot away, and stood on to the attack of the *Monmouth*, which was already closely and equally engaged. The battle continued to rage with great violence, particularly in the centre, where the odds, as to number and force, were constantly and greatly against sir Edward Hughes and his two brave seconds. At three o'clock, the *Monmouth*, after long sustaining, with unparalleled fortitude, the joint attack of two great ships, one of equal, the other of superior force, besides frequently receiving the passing fire of a third, had her mizen-mast shot away, and, in a few minutes after, her main-mast meeting the same fate, she underwent the necessity of falling out of the line to leeward. The enemy used every effort to profit of her condition, and, from their number, made sure of carrying her off. Indeed she was in the greatest danger; but the admiral bearing down instantly to her relief, and being speedily followed by the *Monarca* and the *Sultan*, they covered her with such a fire, that the enemy were glad to relinquish their expected prize.

The disadvantage which the English had hitherto experienced, of being obliged to fight close in with a rocky and dangerous lee-shore, they hoped would have been remedied by the customary change of the wind in the afternoon; but this continuing still unexpectedly to the northward, the admiral found himself under a necessity, at 40 minutes past three, in order to prevent his ships from being too nearly entangled with the shore, to make a signal for

for the squadron to wear, and haul their wind in a line of battle a-head, still fighting the enemy through the whole evolution. At length, towards the approach of night, finding himself in only fifteen fathom water, and being apprehensive that the Monmouth, in her disabled condition, might drift too near the shore, he made a signal for the squadron to prepare to anchor; and the French squadron about the same time, having drawn off in great disorder to the eastward, the action entirely ceased.

M. de Suffrein's ship, *Le Heros*, had been so torn, early in the action, that he had been obliged to shift his flag to the French *Hannibal*, which was of the same force; and soon after dusk, the frigate *La Fine*, of 40 guns, being either under orders to tow off and assist the disabled *Heros*, or else to discover the state and situation of the British squadron, fell so closely on board the *Isis*, that she was obliged to strike her colours to capt. Lumley; but soon perceiving the weak and disordered state of the *Isis*, which besides her loss in the action, had been originally so badly manned, that the defect was now visible in the manner of repairing her damages, the French frigate seized the advantage afforded by this circumstance, and by the darkness of the night, suddenly to get clear of the *Isis*, and totally to escape.

The condition of both squadrons was so nearly alike, and they had suffered so extremely in the action, that similar apprehensions were entertained by each through the night, of being attacked by the other in the morning; sir Edward Hughes, however, only founding that opinion on the disabled state of the *Monmouth*, which he thought might possibly stimulate the enemy to a bold and hazardous attempt in the hope of carrying her off. The morning light removed the deception. The enemy were perceived at anchor about five miles without the English squadron; but they were in such apparent disorder and evident distress, as sufficiently told that they were in no condition or temper for present enterprise. They had, however, the fortune of not losing any of their lower masts; a circumstance of great importance; as their damages, however great in other respects, were still capable

pable of such a repair at sea, as would render the ships manageable, and capable of undergoing a certain degree of service; while, on the other side, the Monmouth could only be restored by length of time, new masts, and a good harbour.

Both parties continued in this situation for several days, each busily employed in repairing their damages, placing their ships in the best situation for withstanding a sudden attack, and eagerly watching every motion of the other. At length, on the morning of the 19th, the enemy got under sail, and stood out to sea close hauled; but at noon they tacked with the sea breeze, and stood in directly for the body of the English squadron, with the apparent view of an immediate attack. This resolution was not lasting; for when they arrived within two miles of the British line, the countenance which they perceived, and the preparation made for their reception, were so little inviting, that they suddenly again tacked, and standing to the eastward by the wind, were entirely out of sight by the evening. The Monmouth being refitted with jury-masts, in the best manner which the present situation would admit, the admiral was enabled on the fourth day after to proceed to Trincomalé, where he used the utmost diligence in repairing the ships, and preparing the squadron for further speedy service; the calls for their utmost exertion becoming now more frequent and urgent, than at any former time.

Such was the result of this fierce and bloody naval contest, in which the English fought under every disadvantage of wind and situation. Capt. Alms had the fortune to be peculiarly distinguished; and it was remarkable, that his situation in the Monmouth on this day, should so nearly resemble that of commodore King, and of the Exeter, in the last action. The slaughter of his men was equal to the havock of his ship. No less than 45 were killed, and 102 wounded, in the Monmouth only; which was probably a full third of her crew. The extraordinary fortitude with which he sustained so long and so desperate a contest, against a superiority that seemed to render courage fruitless, would have afforded room for

for the highest praise, and even for national exultation, if it had been displayed in circumstances wherein that virtue was less general. It was much and generally regretted, that his recollection of such an action should have been embittered, as it was, by the loss of his son; a most gallant youth, who having been just made a lieutenant in the admiral's ship, fell on that day, in a noble emulation of his father.

The whole loss sustained in the squadron, amounted to 137 killed, and to 430 wounded; the latter, in that climate, and at that distance from home, being little less a detraction from the common strength than the former. The French not only directed their principal attack to the centre, but it was there only, that, after the example of M. de Suffrein, and immediately under his eye, they ventured upon bold exertion, and came into close action: Our officers in the van complained, that they generally kept at a guarded long-shot distance; a mode of action, which, from whatever cause it proceeds, generally proves very pernicious in its effect upon the masts and rigging of English ships.

The strong motives which induced sir Edward Hughes rather to wish to avoid than to seek action, until he had landed the supplies and troops, and got quit of the sick at Trincomalé, proved extremely unfortunate in the event, having afforded the means for all those advantages which the enemy possessed in the engagement. Could he have foreseen or thought that they were really determined on fighting, he undoubtedly would have born down upon them, and brought them to that point while the wind was in his favour; but more especially on the first day of their appearance, when they are said to have been so much scattered that they could not easily have recovered their order. In either of these cases, but particularly the latter, it may well be presumed, that the action would have borne a very different colour, and produced consequences far different from what it did. But it is to be observed, that the admiral could only form a judgment of the enemy's present, by their general conduct, which at almost all times goes rather to evade than to seek,

seek, close and general action with the English at sea; at least without a very decided superiority; which, as they were ignorant of the weak state of the Sultan and Magnanime, was not at this time of such apparent magnitude, as might encourage any extraordinary deviation from the usual practice. It seems then, considering the essential objects which he had in view, that the admiral acted the part of a wise and able commander, in not abandoning them for a vain pursuit, or for the sake of fighting the enemy, when even that would have presented no consideration of equal value in return. It seems indeed, that the intention of fighting on the other side, only sprung up with the unexpected occasion of advantage that offered, when the English squadron was so locked in by the wind and the land, that they might direct their attacks against it, in whatever manner, and to whatever extent they pleased.

The French fleet proceeded after the action to Batacalo, a Dutch port on the island of Ceylon, about twenty leagues to the southward of Trincomalé, where they were detained until the month of June, in endeavouring to repair and equip their shattered ships. It is acknowledged in their own account, that the admiral's ship, the *Heros*, with her seconds, the *L'Orient* and the *Brilliant*, had suffered extremely; that M. de Suffrein had been obliged to shift his flag from the former to the *Ajax*; that the condition and situation of these three ships, occasioned his putting an end to the action, and making the signal to cast anchor. It is farther acknowledged, and serves to show more than any thing else, the disorder and confusion which then prevailed on the French side, that the *Heros* had cast anchor in the middle of the English squadron, while the rain and darkness prevented their perceiving her situation; until her captain at length discovering his danger, seized a favourable moment to cut his cable and escape: They likewise acknowledge, that the *La Fine* had been under orders to tow her off, when she fell on board the *Isis*; but the fact of her striking is overlooked; and it is only coldly observed, that she separated from that ship without fighting.

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The loss of men on the French side, as stated in their published account, by no means accords with former experience, any more than with the nature and circumstances of the action, the acknowledged damage sustained by their ships, and the number of officers (whose names could not well be concealed) which appear in both lists of the killed and wounded. In this account, the slain are rated at 139, and the wounded at 364.

Though these actions neither were nor could be decisive in favour of the English, yet they were, particularly the first, of no small importance in their consequences. Every body knew the great force which France, at an immense expense, had been long collecting in her African islands; and all India was in expectation of the mighty blow which she was now to give, and which it was supposed would have proved fatal to the British interests in that quarter of the globe. It was in this idea that Hyder Ally first ventured to invade the Carnatic; and it was upon the same principle, that, notwithstanding his repeated defeats, he still rejected every overture tending to an accommodation that could be made. A sufficient naval force to crush that of the English, was, excepting some artillery and engineers, probably all the aid which he wished for from France; for he was little disposed to place any great confidence in the services of a French, or indeed of any European army in India; their military knowledge and skill, as officers and engineers, was all that he valued; nor did he wish that France, or any other foreign nation, should retain any inland footing whatever in the country. He only wished the English resources by sea to be cut off, and he knew that every thing must then be at his own disposal.

Exhausted then as his patience was, through the failure of France in so long delaying to fulfil her engagements, whilst he was alone exposed to all the rigours of a most dangerous war, how great must have been his disappointment, and how highly must it have excited the astonishment of all India, when it was seen, that with so considerable a real, and so vast an apparent superiority of force, the French fleet would not venture to attack the English

English in the open road of Madras ; but that, on the contrary, these instantly pursue the superior enemy, take or disperse the convoy under his protection, and in a hard-fought battle, wherein they had other disadvantages besides a superiority of force to encounter, leave the claim to victory undetermined? Nothing could have impressed the princes and states of India more strongly with an opinion of the great superiority of the English in all naval affairs, than these circumstances ; nor could any thing afford a more grievous mortification to Hyder ; who now saw his hopes of taking Madras, of deposing the nabob of Arcot, and of placing his son Tippoo in possession of the Carnatic, to be as remote and uncertain as ever.

In the mean time Tellicherry, on the Malabar coast, had been constantly invested, and more or less closely pressed, by Hyder's forces, from the very beginning of the war ; and under the pressure of those losses and misfortunes, which were about that time so general, and of that depression and hopelessness, bordering on despair, which prevailed, it had even been in contemplation to abandon that settlement. It has been intimated that sir Edward Hughes had relieved and preserved the place. The blockade, however, still continued, and the strength and number of the enemy increased ; but they were of a kind, at that distance from the seat of Hyder's power and discipline, unequal to the carrying on of a regular siege, and were contented with closely shutting up the place, and barring the principal passages with forts ; waiting for famine, or other distress, to supply the defects of military skill. The works with which they blocked up the place, were covered by a fortified camp at a moderate distance.

Such was the state of things at Tellicherry, when, in the very beginning of the year, major Abingdon having arrived there from Bombay, with a considerable reinforcement of troops, he immediately concerted measures for relieving the town from the distresses which it endured through its present straitened situation, by a vigorous attempt to dislodge the enemy, and open the communica-
tions

tions with the country. Having originally encamped with his own troops without the town, he was the better enabled to discover the situation of the enemy, and could the more immediately commence his operations; while his lying quiet for some days, together with a vain opinion of their own strength, concurred in rendering them totally unapprehensive of his design.

Having drawn such part of the garrison as could be spared, without notice, into his camp, he concerted his measures so well, that he had surprised, attacked, and carried their several forts, before day, on the morning of the 8th of January 1782; and pursued his success with such celerity and vigour, that not giving them a moment to recover from their confusion, he stormed the enemy's fortified camp as soon as it was light, and completely routed and dispersed their main force. Saddos Cawn, who commanded for Hyder, with his family, and a party of his best or most attached troops, retired into an exceedingly strong fortified house, and of a most singular construction; it being scooped into the side of a hill, and the walls formed of the living rock. Here they made an obstinate defence; but their fastnesses were at length forced, with considerable slaughter; and an inner recess, which was of such strength and contrivance as to be bomb proof, was not sufficient to save Saddos Cawn (who was sorely wounded), and his family, from being made prisoners. This man was represented in the European gazettes as being brother-in-law to Hyder Ally, an error founded on a sister of his being in that prince's seraglio; a sort of connexion which is not at all considered as constituting any such degree of affinity.

Several hundreds of the enemy were killed, and fourteen or fifteen hundred taken prisoners, in this brisk action; which besides afforded a very considerable spoil, consisting in a numerous artillery, with a large quantity of military stores, and a number of elephants, which were found in the several forts and redoubts. By this success, the communications with the country were not only opened, but the coast, for several miles on either hand of Tellicherry, was entirely cleared of the enemy. Few

things could have been more vexatious to Hyder than this stroke. For his possessions on the Malabar coast being partly acquired by conquest and partly by fraud, the Nairs, who are the native princes and nobility, and who had suffered most severely in the ineffectual struggle for the preservation of their ancient rights and liberties, which had, from the earliest times, till then, been unviolated, were still exceedingly disaffected to his government. It was besides a matter of the most serious alarm to him, that the English should at all become formidable in that quarter, from its vicinity to the rich kingdoms of Canara and Mysore, which were the great sources of his wealth and power.

The blow which Hyder received on the Malabar coast, was soon returned with heavy interest on the banks of the Coleroon. Indeed retaliation was generally to be apprehended as the consequence of success, in the conflicts with that dangerous enemy.

Colonel Brathwaite had for some considerable time commanded a detached body of forces, which was called the southern army, and appears to have been destined to the protection of Tanjour and the adjoining provinces. It likewise appears that sir Eyre Coote had early in the year been straining every nerve to advance the army from Madras to the southward, in order to be at hand to repress the designs of Hyder Ally and the French on the side of Pondicherry; and that he was so entirely destitute of the means necessary to that purpose, that it was a work of time, and a matter of the greatest difficulty, to make a movement even to so small a distance as Chingleput. It is not a little fortunate to the commanders of armies in general, that such embarrassing circumstances with respect to the means of warfare are not frequent.

We find by that general's letter to the secretary of state upon the subject, that he was at the same time involved in another difficulty, the nature of which we can by no means clearly comprehend. Sir Eyre Coote represents in that letter, that he was anxiously expecting the result of an application which he had made to the governor general and council of Bengal, for restoring his authority
over

over the southern troops, that he might be enabled to direct them to such a co-operation, as would tend to facilitate his own movements, and to distract the designs of their enemies. What new powers the commander in chief of all the company's forces could have wanted upon this occasion, or how the southern command should have got beyond his authority, we are incapable of explaining.

Colonel Brathwaite lay with his detachment on the banks of the Coleroon, which forms the northern boundary of the Tanjour kingdom. Though his force was not great with respect to number, his troops were excellent, consisting of about 2000 tried infantry, and a small body of 250 cavalry, with 13 field-pieces. His situation in a flat and open country, where no security, through the want of advantageous posts, could be obtained by retreat, and where succour was impossible, evidently would have exposed him to great danger, if a superior enemy, abounding in cavalry, had been within reach to profit of it; but this did not appear to be the case, for Hyder's army was distant, and the several deep and great rivers in the way, seemed to forbid the sudden and unexpected approach of any such considerable body of the enemy, as might be sufficient to afford real cause for alarm.

These circumstances of the colonel's situation did not escape the vigilant attention of Tippoo Saib; whose active mind, eagerly seeking for adventure, was still the more stimulated to this sort of desultory enterprise, from the success which had attended his attack upon colonel Baillie. It is to be observed, that rivers, and even small or moderate arms of the sea, were a very ineffective barrier against Hyder's forces; who had for many years constituted the passing of such great and dangerous waters, under the most untoward circumstances and alarming appearances, among the common military exercises both of his cavalry and infantry. Tippoo Saib was accompanied in this expedition by Mons. Lally, with about 400 French; his native forces being estimated at 20,000, of whom more than half were cavalry. With

this army, and 20 pieces of cannon, he, by several forced marches, gained, with great expedition, the banks of the Coleroon; and passing that river with no less celerity than he had hitherto surmounted all other obstacles in his way, suddenly surrounded Brathwaite's corps, which could not be supposed in any degree of preparation for so unexpected an attack.

This action, in many respects, resembled that in which colonel Baillie was engaged, but was of much longer continuance. The attack commenced on the 16th of February 1782, and the affair was not decided until the 18th. It has been asserted in a letter, written by an officer who was in the action, that during twenty-six hours of those three days, an unremitting fire of cannon and small arms had been supported on both sides. The suddenness of the surprise, nor the imminence of the danger, produced none of their usual effects, whether with respect to the collection and composure, or to the undaunted courage, which were displayed and supported through the whole affair, by the British commander and his officers; the former of whom, though severely wounded and bleeding fast, could not be prevailed upon to withdraw from the action even for a moment. As he was attacked on all sides, and obliged to present a front to every attack, he threw his detachment into a hollow square, with his thirteen field-pieces interspersed in its faces, and his small body of cavalry drawn up in the centre.

Tippoo Saib's design (and in which he thought he could not fail of succeeding) was by a violent cannonade on all sides to break or disorder the square in some of its faces, and then rushing on impetuously with his cavalry, instantly to complete the destruction of the whole. But the noise and violence of his cannonade, with the distant fire of his musquetry, were totally incapable of making the smallest impression on the order of the British sepoy, who, with a firmness that cannot be too much admired, were proof to a fire, and to such an aspect of inevitable destruction, as might have put the constancy and discipline of the best European troops to the test. Finding this

this failure in the first part of his design, and not placing the loss of men in any competition with the attainment of his object, he thought to supply the defect by the number and courage of his cavalry, who he expected could not fail of breaking in at some point or other of the attack, and of then soon cutting or trampling down the whole party. He accordingly made reiterated attempts to lead on his cavalry to the charge; but though they advanced with the greatest impetuosity and fury, they were constantly received with such incessant showers of grape and musquet shot, and such havock made amongst them in the approach, that they were as constantly broken on the way, and obliged to fly in the utmost disorder; whilst at the very instant of their breaking, the party of cavalry sallied full gallop from the centre of the square, and pursuing them furiously with heavy and unresisted execution to a proper distance, again returned to their former station.

Such was the nature of the repeated attacks which they sustained, and such the hard and desperate service, which this handful of brave men underwent through so long a course of time. But in this course their numbers were continually thinned, while the brave survivors, worn down with wounds and fatigue, were still more subdued by the evident fruitlessness of their exertions. At length, on the third day, Mons. Lally seeing the total failure of the cavalry, and that, so far from fulfilling Tippoo Saib's sanguine hopes of riding over at once and trampling upon the British infantry, no possible means could bring them to the resolution of ever making one charge up to the lines, he proposed a new disposition and more effectual mode of attack.

M. Lally marched himself at the head of his 400 Europeans, with fixed bayonets, to the attack of that side of the square, which was the most exposed or seemed the weakest; he being accompanied and supported by several battalions of the enemy's best infantry, and flanked by cavalry. Whilst he was advancing to this attack, the whole fire of their artillery was poured in upon the other three faces, which were at the same time menaced and

harassed by great bodies of cavalry, who were ready to rush in upon them, at the instant that they ventured upon any change in their position; so that the attacked front could not receive the smallest support whatever from the others. The poor wearied sepoy in that front, were little able to withstand the vigorous bayonet attack of such a body of Europeans coming fresh into action, confident, as they were, of success, and supported by such a weight of native troops. They were soon broken, and the cavalry instantly rushing in, a dreadful carnage ensued.

This moment of horror and destruction afforded an opportunity to M. Lally of displaying the noblest humanity, and of transmitting his name with favour and honour to posterity. He not only issued immediate orders for putting a stop to the carnage, which were readily obeyed by the infantry, but he hastened personally, and with apparent hazard, to chastize and restrain the blind and cruel fury of the cavalry; five of whom are said to have fallen by his own hand in that generous exertion. The slaughter was, however, great in the first instance; but as soon as it was effectually restrained, Lally, as if it were entirely to perfect what he had so happily begun, prevailed upon Tippoo Saib to commit the prisoners to his own charge; and the kindness and tenderness which they continued to experience from him, particularly the officers and wounded, fully equalled his generosity and humanity in the field. Many gallant British officers fell in this unfortunate affair; and of the whole number who were in the field, only one escaped being wounded. They lost every thing but their honour; and were still doomed to suffer the miseries of a long and cruel imprisonment at Seringapatam, Hyder's capital in the Mysore kingdom.

This unfortunate stroke on the Coleroon could not but totally disconcert sir Eyre Coote's plan for the conduct of the campaign. All the countries to the southward were now laid entirely open to the designs of the enemy; whilst Hyder, with his grand army, closely watched the motions, and was powerfully prepared to ob-
struct

And the designs of the English general, on the northern side, who was already most unfortunately cramped in his operations through those circumstances which we have before stated. In this state of imbecility or constraint on the one side, and of active power on the other, the French forces and artillery from the islands, under the immediate conduct of M. Duchemin (being the first division of that great force, under the marquis de Bussy, which was intended for the subversion of the English power in India), were, in the course of the month of March, disembarked by Suffrein at Pondicherry. These being received or joined by a body of Hyder's forces, the combined enemy marched in full confidence and security to besiege Cuddalore; a place of sufficient strength and of great importance; but not expecting a siege, and being, through that, and the unfavourable circumstances of the times, unprovided for any length of defence, captain Hughes, the commandant, was obliged to surrender it by capitulation on the 8th of April. Thus assured by success, and encouraged by having no enemy to oppose them in the field, as well as by the weak and unprovided state of the garrisons, they advanced to the northward, where they besieged and took Permacoil; and then, in concert with Hyder, were directing their views to a joint attack upon Vandiwash.

These unexpected losses, and this new danger, were not necessary to quicken sir Eyre Coote in his endeavours to put the army in motion. Vandiwash was indeed of such great importance, that a less active and vigilant commander could have left no means unsought, nor resource untried for its preservation. He accordingly advanced with the army towards that place, in full confidence that Hyder, being now strengthened by so powerful an aid of Europeans, would be no ways averse to a general action, or indeed that he would rather be pleased with so early an opportunity of trying, and of benefiting by their energy: At all events, he concluded that he would sooner fight, than relinquish an object, which he had so much at heart, and which was of so much real consequence as the taking of Vandiwash. He found himself,

however, mistaken in all his conclusions, well founded as they certainly were; and it soon appeared, that the presence even of his European allies was not sufficient to restore Hyder's confidence in the issue of a field battle with the English.

The protection of Vandiwash was not, however, sufficient to satisfy the British general; and as his position there was too advantageous to encourage Hyder's approach, he determined to seek him upon his own ground; still concluding, that the disgrace of retiring from so inferior a force under the eyes of strangers, who were themselves his allies, eminent for their own military abilities, and already prepossessed, through the greatness of his name, in an opinion of his superior prowess in war, together with a sense of the impression which so shameful a retreat would make upon all the other states of India, and even upon his own subjects and forces, would inevitably induce Hyder to stand the hazard of a battle; and that even though the measure should be contrary to his own opinion, he would notwithstanding be forced to give way to the united operation of so many powerful concurrent motives. In this opinion, he pushed on two days march directly to Hyder's camp. But that wary prince was not to be over-ruled or guided in his conduct, by any regard to appearances, or to the opinions of others. He submitted without hesitation to the supposed disgrace, and took care to fall back in good time, without at all waiting for so near an approach of the British army as could by any means enable them to disturb his retreat; and directing his course to the Red Hills, he there took a position of such strength, as he well knew would deter an able and experienced general from all attempt upon an army of such magnitude as he commanded.

It is perhaps among the distinguishing features of great talents, and is undoubtedly highly necessary in military affairs, not to trust so much to them, as to venture upon measures of great importance, and capable of much danger in their consequences, without full consultation and advice. This was at least a leading part of Sir
Eyre

Eyre Coote's character. He he'd a council of war, and having communicated all the intelligence he possessed to his officers, he then laid before them his own ideas, and the plan he had framed, in order to draw the enemy from his present strong post, and to obtain an opportunity of bringing him to action. Hyder's great magazines were deposited in the strong fortrefs of Arnee, and the general suggested that a movement towards that place would not only be a means of effectually checking his supplies, but would alarm him so much for its safety, that on both accounts he probably would be led to descend from his present position on the hills.

The general's proposal being unanimously approved of in the council of war, he directed his course towards Arnee, and encamped within five miles of that place. This judicious movement immediately produced the intended effect, by drawing Hyder down from the hills, who marched with the utmost expedition to the rescue of a place which contained the means of carrying on the war. This movement, however, continued unknown to the general, until a little before day, at the very moment that the army was commencing its five mile march to Arnee; and this intelligence rendered it then a matter of deliberation, whether he should still proceed to that place, or advance to meet Hyder, and fight him on the way? He determined on the former, as the most certain means of bringing the enemy to action; for if Hyder found that he could save the place, by drawing the English army away from its position, he then would have been under no necessity of risking a battle, which was a decision that he evidently had no disposition to appeal to, while it could be avoided without some signal loss.

It was not the least of the many great difficulties which the British general had to encounter in this war, that the vast crowds of Hyder's cavalry, which constantly attended and watched all the smallest movements of the army, covering as it were the whole face of the adjoining country, rendered it almost impossible to obtain any precise information of the motions or situation of his
main

main body; nor could the evolutions or approach of the former, which they were endless in the repetition of, be considered as the smallest indication either of his distance or designs. The van of the army had already reached Arnee, and were marking out a camp in sight of the place, when a distant cannonade on the rear announced to the general Hyder's sudden approach, who was till then supposed to be at several miles distance.

This surprise, however, produced no manner of disorder, although their arrival at that critical juncture afforded great advantages to the enemy in their attack; for the army was in a low situation surrounded by commanding grounds, which Hyder's forces instantly took possession of; so that their manœuvres were performed under every possible disadvantage in that respect, and they were exposed to a heavy though distant cannonade during the time they were forming. These difficulties and disadvantages by no means disconcerted the general, who used the utmost despatch, and displayed all his usual ability, in making such dispositions, and adopting such measures, as would the most speedily remove or remedy them, and might, in their effect, tend to bring the enemy to close and decisive action.

It was notwithstanding near mid-day (June 2) before he could reduce the enemy's various attacks to one settled point of action; but as soon as that was accomplished, the British troops advanced upon them with such resistless impetuosity, that Hyder's army gave way on every side. A total rout ensued, and the enemy were pursued till late in the evening.

The want of cavalry on the British side, and the superabundance of it on the other, prevented victory from producing any of its grand effects in this war, whether with respect to the destruction of men, the taking of prisoners and artillery, or the total dispersion and ruin of the enemy's army. It is however a matter peculiarly worthy of observation, that although Hyder's tried and veteran sepoys and grenadiers, who once would not have dreaded the encounter of any enemy whatever, had long since been worn out and consumed in this war, yet that
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such were the effects of his own great military talents, and of the remains of that admirable order and discipline which he had been so many years establishing, that even the sort of troops which he now commanded, though incapable of long standing the brunt of close and severe action with the English sepoys, yet they were, in all circumstances, still obedient to command, and soon recovered their order; never once being guilty of that shameful dereliction of their commanders, and irretrievable dispersion, which, before his time, had been the constant concomitants of defeat in Indian armies.— When Hyder's army was beaten, whatever the loss, or however great the defeat, it was still beaten like an European army; and, like that, was easily recalled to order and service, and speedily fit for fresh action. It is not less remarkable, nor worthy of observation, that although, before Hyder's time, the surprise of Indian camps at night by Europeans, and the ever consequent destruction of their armies, were among the common incidents of warfare; yet, that so wonderful was the change which he introduced in the government of armies, and so admirable the measures with respect to guards and the establishment of posts, that in all the course of his wars with the English, though opposed by some of the most enterprising officers in the world, and by commanders of first-rate abilities, no camp of his was ever surprised by night or by day. Nor will this appear the less extraordinary when we recollect, that some of the greatest generals and best armies, even in Europe, have not at all times been exempt from such misfortunes.

On the day after the battle, sir Eyre Coote having obtained intelligence, that Hyder was encamped upon such strong ground, as might encourage him to stand another action, and seemed to be chosen for that purpose, he again advanced upon him. But, upon his coming up, he found the enemy retreating with great precipitation, although the approaches to his encampment were so difficult that they might be disputed with much advantage. The pursuit was continued on the following day, until
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it was found that the enemy had quitted the road, and crossed the country towards Arnee. But however Hyder might be defeated, and obliged to fly, he still remained unconquered ; and was ever formidable and dangerous. In less than a week after the battle, a body of his chosen cavalry found means to draw the British grand guard into an ambuscade, and cut them entirely off before they could be supported by the army. The troops and cattle during this time, having suffered greatly by heat, sickness, and fatigue, and the stock of provision they had brought with them being nearly exhausted, the general found it necessary to fall back, within reach of the sources of his supply.

The battle of the 2d of June was the last, in which these two great commanders were ever destined to face each other ; nor was either of them afterwards present at any action of importance. They did not survive many months ; and though they equally escaped the dangers of the field, it seems probable that they were both victims to this contention.

The British general could not but complete the ruin of a constitution, already much impaired and broken, by the fatigues which he underwent, and the unparalleled difficulties which he had to encounter, in every part of this most arduous and dangerous war.

On the other hand, though his great rival and antagonist was a much younger man, and possessed an uncommonly vigorous and robust constitution, he had for some time encountered, and was now particularly experiencing, such a series of unexpected difficulties, disappointments, and dangers, as were sufficient to put the firmest mind and the strongest constitution to the test. His prospects were every day becoming more unfavourable, and affairs seemed now rapidly tending to a crisis, which could not, to a mind so comprehensive as his, but be seriously alarming. He had been able to bring desolation and ruin upon the Carnatic ; but with all his power and all his exertions, he had failed in the great purposes of the war ; and he was too clear-sighted not fully to perceive, that the season for their attainment was

was now elapsed. He had long considered the English as the only effective obstacles to the vast designs which he had formed in India. His ambition not only soared to the restoration of the Mogul empire, and its establishment in his own family, but he confided in his own ability, for laying it out upon a more extensive scale, and fixing it upon much stronger and more permanent foundations, than those upon which it had been originally raised. The present weak and degenerate race of Mahometan princes, who had sprung up upon the ruins of the fallen empire, he held in such contempt, as men unworthy of the situations in which fortune had placed them, and incapable of all the purposes whether of war or of government; that so far from considering them as at all interfering with his views, he, on the contrary, held their wealth and their power as sure resources, to be applied, as the occasion might require, to their completion. The Mahrattas were the only native power which he had to apprehend; but he had been so long in the practice of playing upon and managing those intestine divisions, to which the nature of their government so peculiarly exposes that people, that he had no doubt of being equally successful in the future; and that he should be able, either by money to render them inert, or by civil commotion incapable, until he had grown beyond their grasp or reach.

These mighty designs, which had been long restrained by the great power and military reputation of the English, were at length brought into action, by that distracted state of affairs, and those numerous enemies, which the alternate weakness and temerity of their councils, with the rapacity of individuals, had, at length, brought upon them. These were the real motives, independent of all former causes, whether of private or public resentment, which led to Hyder's irruption into the Carnatic. The state of their affairs at that time, and the weakness and ill government of their ally the nabob of Arcot, seemed to lay that rich and extensive country an easy prey at his feet; and his first successes were such, that it was no wonder he expected to have been master of Madras, and
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of the whole coast of Coromandel, within a few weeks. With this vast addition of power, and increase of renown, together with the means which they would afford to him of prescribing laws for the conduct of all the lesser states, and of directing the already excited resentments of the Mahrattas to the attainment of his own purposes, it seemed as if there would be nothing but a sufficient naval force wanting, to enable him to drive the English entirely out of India. This deficiency France had promised to supply, and he depended upon her engagement. Indeed so little was he disposed to depend upon the aid of others, in any thing which came within his own possible comprehension, that he had for several years past used extraordinary, and for that part of the world, almost wonderful efforts, to become himself a potent maritime power; not only by the acquisition of a great length of sea-coast, but by his sparing no expense in the purchase and building of ships; not to mention his conquest of the numberless Maldivé islands, which would have afforded him an inexhaustible resource of seamen.

The vigorous measures pursued upon the arrival of sir Eyre Coote at Madras, and the subsequent repeated defeats which he received from that commander, not only blasted Hyder's hopes of speedy conquest, but broke in upon and disconcerted the whole scheme of his designs. He soon made the unexpected and unwelcome discovery, that instead of rapidly subduing the Carnatic, and being then free to follow up the chain of his other projects to the end, it was become a matter of the greatest doubt, whether his own force singly, would ever be equal to the accomplishment of the first object. The confidence in his own power thus overthrown, he had only to place his trust in, and wishfully to look forward to the arrival of that French naval armament, which was to sweep the English out of the Indian seas; this great service once performed, Hyder well knew that he was himself fully competent to the completion of the business by land, at least so far as related to the coast of Coromandel. After long and tedious delay, when expectation and hope were nearly exhausted, the French fleet arrived, and after
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exciting a transitory gleam of hope, failed in the attainment of all its objects, so far at least as related to him; for desperate fights at sea, without any decisive consequences, or the taking two or three transports, or a number of provision vessels on their way to and from Madras, were matters which afforded neither consolation nor profit to Hyder.

It could not then be without that anguish, which disappointed ambition, and a total overthrow of the most sanguine hopes are capable of exciting, that he now beheld all his designs frustrated. The lingering war in the Carnatic afforded neither advantage nor hope; and if it was ruinous to his enemies, it was scarcely less so to himself. The country was already so desolated, that it was of little farther value to either of the parties, than as it afforded them a multitude of strong posts and garrisons, and a wide scene for every kind of action and manœuvre in war. It had already been the grave of his best generals, officers, and troops, and not much less of his own military reputation; at the same time, that he was so deeply involved, that he could not quit so unfortunate and hopeless a scene of contest, without a total dereliction of his past name and renown.

Whilst he was thus chained down in the Carnatic, he saw the clouds gathering on every side, and every indication of an approaching and dreadful storm. He knew that a treaty of peace, and perhaps of alliance, was far advanced, if not already concluded, between the English and the Mahrattas. He had too much reason to apprehend, that an intended partition of his dominions would be the band of union between those late enemies; who were both exceedingly jealous of his power, and had both suffered extremely by his arms. He had no confederacy to oppose to so formidable a junction; which, on the contrary, was likely to draw after it all the states in India; for there were few of them who had not been either jealous of his power, or afraid of his designs; and the most inconsiderable would hope to pick up some share of the spoil, in such a general wreck of his fortunes. But if

this apprehended confederacy did not even take place, he saw that the English being now freed from their Mahratta enemy, would direct their whole against him singly; and that while his hands were fully occupied in the Carnatic, Bombay and Bengal would urge their utmost efforts against him on the Malabar side; where he was most vulnerable, and whence they might easily carry the war into the very centre of his dominions. As to his French allies, they had already failed him in that point, in which only he considered them as capable of doing him any essential service; for as to their land forces, he set but little value upon them; and he besides knew, that they could never be able to send such an army to that distance, as would be in any degree capable, in these circumstances, of turning the scale of war in his favour. Indeed it had been one of his own long-established maxims, that the Europeans could never become powerful or formidable in India, by any other means, than by that of native troops, raised and disciplined in the country.

Such was the situation, and such probably the feelings and reflections of Hyder.

Sir Eyre Coote's ill health rendering him incapable of continuing any longer in the field, and sir Hector Monro returning to Europe, the command of the army devolved on major-general Stuart. The country was now so entirely ruined, that the contending armies were obliged to draw their supplies from other quarters, which, besides the immense expense it occasioned, could not but greatly impede the operations of the war. Hyder, however, from the nearness on all sides of his own dominions, was, comparatively with the English, but little affected by this circumstance. As the enemy still cautiously abstained from risking an action, and that it was impossible to force them to it, at the same time that they were too numerous and powerful in the field, and the French too strong at Cuddalore, to admit of any attempt for the recovery of that place, a toilsome campaign on the side of general Stuart, was spent in long and laborious

laborious marches, either occasioned by the motions of the enemy, or intended to counteract their designs, by the supply and relief of garrisons ; so that no event of any considerable importance took place in the Carnatic during the remainder of the year.

But this cessation was confined entirely to the land ; for the Indian ocean was still destined to be the scene of hard and bloody action. M. de Suffrein had returned from Batacalo to the coast of Coromandel, pretty early in June, and having touched at the Danish settlement of Tranquebar, where his fleet was revictualled by several Dutch ships which had arrived for that purpose from Batavia, he proceeded thence to Cuddalore, which the French had rendered their strong and great place of arms, both for the land and sea service. The French commander had it now in contemplation to fulfil Hyder's hopes (with whom he had held several conferences), by totally crushing the English squadron, before the arrival of sir Richard Bickerton, who with several ships of war had been long on his way from England, and most impatiently expected at Madras. He still preserved his former superiority, of twelve ships of the line to eleven, besides his heavy frigates, and he used all possible means to prepare them in the best manner for immediate action. In order to render this superiority fully decisive against a squadron so weakly manned as the English, he replenished his ships with 400 French, and as many sepoy, at Cuddalore ; and receiving intelligence soon after that sir Edward Hughes was arrived on the coast, he, under pretence of a design on Negapatam, strengthened his squadron with 300 artillery-men ; than which, no aid could be more thoroughly effective.

Sir Edward Hughes having new-masted the *Monmouth*, and refitted his other ships, as well as time and circumstances would admit at Trincomalé, as soon as he received intelligence that the enemy were departed from Batacalo, lost no time in his preparation to follow them to the coast ; and having taken on board his recovered men, arrived at Negapatam towards the end of the month.

The French commander, confiding in his strength, appeared boldly with 18 ships before Negapatam to challenge his enemy, who, without regard to his number or force, was by no means slack in answering the defiance. It was past noon when the French fleet came in sight, and sir Edward Hughes was in such admirable readiness, and so little disposed to give them any delay, that by three o'clock he had weighed anchor, and instantly putting out to sea, stood to the southward during the evening and the night, in order to gain the wind of the enemy. This essential point being gained, and confirmed by several masterly evolutions in the morning, when the squadron had nearly closed with the enemy, he threw out signals for every ship to bear down directly upon her opposite in the French line, and to bring her to close action (July 6th). These orders were admirably obeyed; and for some considerable time, the action was close, warm, and generally well maintained on both sides. The firing had commenced in the French line, about twenty minutes before eleven o'clock, but was not returned on the side of the English until they had sufficiently neared the enemy, which was some minutes later.

At something more than half past twelve, the French line appeared to be in great disorder, and several of their ships were perceived to have suffered extremely both in their masts and hulls. The van ship had already been obliged to bear away quite out of the line; the Brilliant, the French admiral's second a-head, had lost her main-mast; and several others showed sufficient marks of loss and disorder. At this critical moment, when even hope itself could scarcely find any thing to cling to, fortune befriended the enemy, and a sudden shift of wind saved the French squadron from absolute ruin. The sea breeze set in with such unusual power, that several of the English ships in the van and centre, particularly those which had received the greatest damage in their masts and rigging, were taken a-back, and paid round on the heel, with their heads the contrary way; while others, particularly those in the rear, whose rigging had suffered the least in
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the action, were able to withstand this shift of the wind, and accordingly continued on their former tack.

This circumstance, so fortunate to the one side, and untoward with respect to the other, necessarily breaking the British line, and totally deforming their order of battle, rendered them incapable of prosecuting their advantage with effect; while the disabled, broken, and flying enemy, were thereby enabled to recollect and recover themselves. For during this state of disorder in the British line, the French squadron had time to wear, and getting upon a new tack, to form with those ships which had suffered least a line to windward, in order to cover those which were disabled. In the intermediate time, sir Edward Hughes seeing part of his ships on one tack, and the more numerous on the other, while the *Eagle*, *Worcester*, and *Burford*, which had been able to continue on their former, were nearing the enemy's main body very fast, he attempted to remedy the disorder, by hauling down the signal for the line, and throwing out another to wear, which he intended to follow with that for a general chase. But at this instant he was hailed by captain Gell, of the *Monarca*, who informed him, that not only all his standing rigging had been shot away, but that his ship had otherwise received so much damage as to be utterly ungovernable; and the admiral perceiving at the same time, that the enemy, who had now worn, and were coming on the larboard tack, were endeavouring to cut off the *Eagle*, while at the other extremity of the line, his van ship, the *Hero*, was getting in so close with the land as to make a signal of distress, he found it necessary to throw out the signal for wearing only. During this operation, a partial engagement was continued between such of the English ships and of the French as happened to come within reach of each other, and the *Eagle* was for some time hard pressed by two of the enemy.

At half past one, the admiral made the signal for the line of battle a-head, and was preparing to renew the attack; but at two o'clock, seeing that the enemy were standing in shore, and collecting their ships in a close
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body, while his own were much dispersed, and several of them ungovernable, he gave up that design, and thought only of collecting his ships, and preparing them for that service, which he hoped would be conclusive and final with respect to its object, on the ensuing morning. The British squadron cast anchor at the approach of the evening between Negapatam and Nagore, and were busily employed during the night in securing their lower masts, as most of their standing rigging had been shot away, and in stretching serviceable sails to their yards; but no exertions, in so short a time, could render them capable of fresh evolutions and immediate service; they had been well able in the line, to continue the engagement, and to press upon their enemy to the last; but when their already torn rigging had been strained and racked in the gale, and by the subsequent movements, they could not but be crippled in such a manner, as must require time, as well as application, for its cure.

The French squadron had anchored about three leagues to leeward; and it could not be without the most unspeakable mortification, that the English admiral beheld them getting under sail in the morning, and proceeding on their way to Cuddalore, while his ships were utterly incapable of preventing or pursuing them. Their frigates upon this occasion, as well as in all the late preceding circumstances, were of the most signal service to them.

The enemy were completely beaten, although the fruits of the victory could not be gathered. If the English ships had not been thrown out of action, in the singular manner and at the instant they were, when the enemy's line was completely broken, some of their ships running away, and others too much disabled to run, it can scarcely be supposed that many of them would have escaped to Cuddalore. The fore, or indeed the only real part of this action, serves to throw great light upon the two former engagements; for it is thence clearly evident, that if they had been general instead of being partial, and that all the English ships could have been brought fairly up at once to the encounter, the result of both would have been very different from what it was; un-
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less indeed, that the first might have been so decisive as to prevent any second trial. Upon the whole it may be truly said, that the elements, without being absolutely unfortunate, had been exceedingly perverse to the English in these three actions.

In the course of the disorder occasioned by the sea breeze, the *Severe* of 64 guns, one of the French admiral's seconds, had suffered so extremely, and was become so totally ungovernable, that she fell along-side of captain Watt, in the *Sultan*, and struck to him. But while captain Watt was, under signal, in the act of wearing, to join the admiral, the *Severe*, taking advantage of that situation, suddenly hoisted all the sail she could get up, and without showing any colours, and in defiance of the established laws of war and of nations, poured her fire into and raked the *Sultan* as she passed. It is not a little to be regretted, that she escaped the vengeance due to such an act by getting in among a cluster of French ships, whose nearness undoubtedly gave life to the design. Sir Edward Hughes despatched captain Watt on the following day with a letter to M. de Suffrein, complaining of this treatment, and demanding the surrender of the ship; but the French commander, not chusing to avow the act, alleged (on what foundation every man will form his own opinion) that the colours had not been intentionally struck, but had come down through the halliards of the ensign being shot away.

The result of an inquiry into this transaction, which afterwards took place in Paris, and was there published, totally overthrows M. de Suffrein's defence, and substitutes one which does not seem much better. By that it is acknowledged that the colours were really and intentionally struck; but this act is not attributed to necessity, but charged to the cowardice of the acting commander at the time; a strange story is then told, that an auxiliary officer being dissatisfied with his striking, and sensible of the motive, first had the address to persuade him that he was dangerously wounded, and then, that it was absolutely necessary for his health to go down; that
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having by these means obtained the command, he renewed the engagement, and bravely fought and saved the ship.

The loss of men on the English side, amounted to 77 killed, and 233 wounded; on the side of the French, their acknowledged loss was much more considerable, the slain amounting to 178, and the wounded to 601; the comparative state being 779 to 310, or above five to two. Among other brave officers, as well of the 98th regiment, as of the naval department, who fell in this action, the gallant captain Maclellan, of the *Superbe*, was shot through the heart in its very commencement. It was remarkable, if not singular, and fully shows the warm service they were engaged in, that the admiral's two immediate captains should have been killed within so short a time of each other.

We are totally in the dark as to the motives which induced the admiral to keep the sea, to the windward of Negapatam, while the French were busily employed in repairing their ships at Cuddalore, for near a fortnight after this engagement; at the same time, that the desire of information on this head is exceedingly excited, from its seeming, that the very unfortunate event which soon after happened, was, in a very considerable degree, the consequence of this delay, in not proceeding directly after the action to Madras, where the stores were, in order to refit the squadron. It is not from hence even to be imagined, that this proceeding was not fully authorised by the motives, although they do not appear at this distance; and it is as little to be supposed, that the admiral did not communicate them to government, however it might at the time be deemed inexpedient or unnecessary to lay them before the public. It might be imagined that he intended to cover the arrival of sir Richard Bickerton's long-expected squadron, had not the French fleet been in a condition which seemed to forbid all present adventure. The probability seems to be, that the naval movements now, as at other times, were concerted with, and in a great measure governed by those of the army; and that the situation of the latter at that time, or perhaps some proposed scheme of co-operation, made it appear

near necessary for the squadron to keep its station on that part of the coast.

However these things were, the necessity of providing some of the ships with top masts, and other essential articles which had been lost in the late action, and of supplying the whole with ammunition and provisions, both of which were nearly exhausted, became at length so urgent, that the admiral proceeded with the squadron to Madras, where he arrived on the 20th of July. He was there joined by the Sceptre, of 64 guns, which had left England along with sir Richard Bickerton. The Sceptre having been separated from the rest of the squadron soon after clearing the Channel, had put into the Brazils, where meeting with the Medea frigate, they were proceeding in company, when falling in on their way with a large French ship laden with naval stores, captain Graves left the prize in charge of the Medea, that he might proceed himself with the greater expedition to join the admiral. While the squadron were refitting and taking in their supplies, sir Edward Hughes, anxious for the security of Trincomalé, despatched the Monmouth and Sceptre, with such a reinforcement of troops, and such supplies of provisions and stores for that garrison, as both the general and admiral expected would have been fully competent to their repelling, at least, any desultory attempt which the enemy might make upon that place.

In the mean time, M. de Suffrein used the utmost industry and despatch in refitting his squadron at Cuddalore, and having received advice from the sieur d'Amar, that he was arrived at Point de Galles, which lies on the south side of the island of Ceylon, in his own ship the St. Michael of 64 guns, accompanied by the Illustre of 74; and of their having under their convoy the second division of the marquis de Bussy's troops and artillery, the French admiral was enabled to sail on the first of August to join them at that island.

So exceedingly difficult were the means of information at that time, that with an army in the field, garrisons every-where dispersed, and in a country belonging to the nabob of Arcot, no intelligence of a transaction
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of such importance and notoriety, and at the distance only of Cuddalore, was received at Madras until about the middle of the month; and then only through mere accident, and from a directly opposite quarter. For it happened, that captain Mitchel, in the Coventry frigate, of 32 guns, being cruizing on the coast of Ceylon, fell in with the Bellona, of 40 guns, when a confidence in himself, and in the goodness of his ship's company, on the one side, and in the weight of his ship, and the great superiority of his force, on the other, drew on a most desperate engagement of two hours and a half; at the end of which, captain Mitchel most gallantly obliged his enemy to fly; and pursuing him with great eagerness, was astonished at finding himself led by the chase amidst a French fleet of 23 sail, when he did not imagine they had any such armament at sea; he, of course, was obliged to fly in turn, being chased by two ships of the line; and fortunately escaping, brought the intelligence directly to the admiral.

This intelligence, and his anxiety for Trincomalé, urged the admiral to quicken his departure, and the ships having received their supplies, and being rendered tolerably fit for service, he sailed from Madras on the 20th of August, and used every endeavour with the utmost expedition to gain the island of Ceylon. But the usual perverseness of the weather, not only now recurred, but operated with more mischief in the effect than at any former time; the wind blew directly against him, and the extraordinary delay thereby occasioned, produced the intervening loss.

The French admiral having been joined by the ships of war and convoy at Point de Galles, proceeded directly to the attack of Trincomalé, where he arrived towards the end of the month, and the fire of the batteries was incapable of preventing his fleet from anchoring in Back Bay. The landing of the troops, under the conduct of the baron d'Agoult, was effected the next morning (August 16th) before day, and the place was immediately invested. After two days work on the batteries, those on the left were opened early on the morning

morning of the 29th, and soon gained such a superiority over those of the garrison, that they were entirely silenced before night. This encouraged the French commanders on the following morning to summon the place. Some difficulties at first arose about the terms of capitulation; but M. de Suffrein was too eager to gain possession of the place, and too apprehensive of the arrival of sir Edward Hughes, to lose much time in debating conditions.

Captain Macdowal, the commandant, accordingly obtained every thing he demanded—the honours of war in the utmost extent; they being to carry off with them entirely, two field-pieces and a mortar, with a certain number of charges, and all things whatever appertaining to them; the garrison to be directly transmitted to Madras, and amply provided for, in ships to be properly equipped for the purpose, at the French king's expense; and a particular ship appointed for the conveyance of the officers and staff. A particular and laudable attention was paid to the interests of the Dutch inhabitants, although they were falling into the hands of their own allies; it being specially provided, not only that all private property, whether belonging to the garrison or the inhabitants, should be fully secured, but that all the rights, privileges, and prerogatives of the latter, should be preserved inviolate. Two of the articles seemed to indicate some distrust of the good faith of the enemy; for by one, the commander of the land forces was rendered personally responsible for any disorders committed by his troops; and by the last it was specifically prescribed, that the capitulation should be executed, in all the eleven articles, with reciprocal good faith. It is observable, that there was not a single condition binding on the garrison, excepting merely the delivery of the public magazines, and that there was not a possibility of their evading. Fort Ostenburgh was given up on the following day, which was the last of the month, upon the same conditions.

Nothing could have been more unfortunate, whether in its immediate effect, or in its subsequent consequences, than

than the loss of Trincomalé ; nor does it appear that any event through the war, so grievously affected sir Eyr Coote, and the admiral ; who both seem likewise to have conceived, that the place was capable of a much longer and more vigorous defence. The garrison undoubtedly was sufficiently numerous, and as they had been so lately supplied, it does not seem that they could have wanted either provision or the means of defence ; but as it does not appear that any blame has fallen upon the commandant or his officers, it may be supposed, that the natural or artificial defences were not so strong as had been imagined, that there were some defects in other respects, of which we are not informed, or, perhaps, that the enemy's artillery were more weighty and powerful than could have been apprehended.

When it was no longer of use, the wind suddenly became favourable to the English squadron, and the French commanders had no more than time to possess and secure their new acquisitions, when sir Edward Hughes, on the 2d of September at night, arrived off Trincomalé. Nothing undoubtedly could exceed the mortification and astonishment, with which the admiral, at the opening of the morning, perceived French colours flying in all the forts, and a fleet of above 30 sail riding at anchor in the different bays. Of these, fifteen were of the line, including three fifties (for they had been reinforced by an old company's ship of 50 guns, as well as by the St. Michael and L'Illustre), ten or eleven were frigates or fire-ships, and the rest transports. Thus they had three fifties to spare, while they presented 12 ships of 64 guns and upwards to the English line of the same number ; but in which the Isis of 50 guns, was of necessity opposed to one of their sixty-fours.

The admiral might well have avoided an engagement, and the superiority of the enemy, together with the loss of the place, which no success could now immediately recover, would undoubtedly have warranted his so doing ; but such was the general indignation spread through the whole squadron, that no superiority of force could stand

in the way to their vengeance, nor induce a sufficient consideration of the consequences in its pursuit.

The enemy, fully sensible of their superiority, as soon as they perceived the English in the morning, who were then within two leagues of them, got immediately under sail, and about six o'clock, making their way through Back Bay, they stood out to sea to the south-eastward; by which they gained the wind, then blowing strong off the shore. Sir Edward Hughes immediately made the signal for the line of battle a-head at two cables length distance; and shortening sail, edged away from the wind, in order that the ships might the more speedily get into their respective stations for completing the line. Soon after eight o'clock, the enemy began to edge down towards the English line, and the British admiral, in order to render the action decisive, by drawing them as far as possible from Trincomalé before its commencement, stood off before the wind from the shore until eleven o'clock. During this whole time, the enemy showed great indecision in their movements; sometimes edging down, as if disposed to come to action, again bringing to; and keeping no regular order; as if totally undetermined how to act.

But towards noon they seemed to have fixed their resolution for action; and at half past two they began to fire upon the English line, which was in a few minutes returned, and the engagement soon after became general. (Sept. 3d.) The French, to derive the greater advantage from their superiority in number, directed the attack of their additional ships upon the extremities of the English line, which were already in close action with an equal enemy. By this means the Worcester, which was the last ship of their rear, was most furiously attacked by two of the enemy, who seemed confident of entirely ruining, if not of taking her, as all her fellows in that division were fully engaged. But she made so noble a resistance, and the Monmouth, which was her second, throwing all her sails a-back, came up so timely, and threw in so close and powerful a fire upon the enemy, that the attack on that side entirely failed of its expected effect,

fect. At the same time, five of the enemy's ships came down in a cluster, and fell with equal fury and greater powers, upon the Exeter and Isis, which were the headmost of the English van. It seemed peculiarly destined to the Exeter, to be exposed to the encounter of great odds. In so unequal a combat as the present, it could be no wonder, that she was so much disabled, as to be at length obliged to retire from the line; while the weak and forlorn Isis was left, it might be said, to run the gauntlet, under the successive passing fire of the five French ships before she could be supported.

During these fierce attacks on the points of the English line, the centre divisions on both sides were fairly and closely, ship to ship, engaged; the rival commanders, in the Superbe and Heros, dealing out their rage with unremitting fury upon each other. At half past three o'clock, the French admiral's second a-stern had his mizen mast shot away; and his second a-head lost his fore and mizen top-masts. The battle was, however, still desperately maintained at half past five. At that time, the wind shifting suddenly from the south-west to the east-south-east, sir Edward Hughes made the signal for wearing, which was instantly obeyed; and the evolution was performed by the whole squadron with such alertness, and in such admirable order, that it seemed to be rather a naval exercise of parade, than a movement in the height of action and danger.

The enemy were engaged, during this time, in the operations of either wearing or staying their ships, until the English renewed the engagement, on the other tack, with fresh violence. At 20 minutes past six, the French admiral's main-mast was shot away close by the board; and soon after his mizen-mast met the same fate. On the English side, the Worcester, about the same time, lost her main top-mast. At seven o'clock, the body of the French squadron hauled their wind to the southward, but were exposed to and received a most severe fire from the ships in the English rear for about 20 minutes after, when getting clear off, the action entirely ceased.

Thus

Thus ended one of the best fought actions perhaps recorded in naval history; and it terminated a naval campaign (if the word may be admitted) unequalled as to the number, the variety, the nature, and the obstinacy of the actions by which it was distinguished. Certainly we have no memorial, of the same men, and the same ships, meeting and fighting, so often and so desperately, in so short a space of time.

It cannot be supposed, after so long and so severe an engagement, that the English squadron could be in any condition for pursuing the enemy; but the darkness of the night, and the nearness of Trincomalé, would not have admitted the attempt, under any possibility of effect, if things had even been otherwise. No part of the French squadron was to be seen at day-light.

The loss of men on the side of the English, was, in point of number, so small, as to be almost below credibility; amounting to only 51 slain, and 283 wounded; but if considered with respect to the brave officers who fell, though included in that small number, the loss to their country, and to the naval service, was beyond estimate. Among those who gloriously dedicated their lives on that day to the service of their country, were the three brave and distinguished captains, Wood, of the Worcester, Watt, of the Sultan, and Lumley, of the Isis. The last, on account of his youth and noble family, as well as his being an officer of the greatest hope and gallantry, was deeply and peculiarly regretted. Such a slaughter of captains, in so small a number of ships, and where the general loss was so moderate, was singularly unfortunate. Indeed officers in general seemed peculiarly destined to suffer in this day's action; several other brave men, as well of the 78th and 98th regiments, as of the naval department, having fallen, and a very considerable number being wounded. Too much could not be said in praise of colonel Fullarton, and of the other officers, as well as of the private men of these two corps, who had, at their own desire, and at the liberal expense of their blood, continued, during so many months, to encounter all the hardships and incommodities of so exceedingly

ceedingly severe and trying a service; and which was in so many respects contrary to their professional habits and duties.

It was highly to the honour of the British commanders, that through the whole course of this severe naval contest, and through so many days of hard, bloody, and doubtful trial, constantly fighting too against a superiority of force, yet, that under all these circumstances, the breath of slander had not been able to leave the smallest soil on the character, or to censure the behaviour of any one of them; but that, in every action, each was acknowledged to have done every thing in the power of a brave and experienced officer; whilst, on the other side, the French admiral was continually breaking or suspending his officers, and actually sent several of them home prisoners to France for trial. Perhaps, in no season of the highest naval success and glory in any country, could another instance be produced, of an equal number of commanders, going through such a course of action, and being so uniformly great in their conduct, as not to admit of any distinction in the claim of honour at the conclusion.

The French returned to Trincomalé on the very night of the action, and seem to have been so much hurried on that occasion, that the *L'Orient*, of 74 guns, one of their best ships, was lost in the dark, in the act of getting in. M. de Suffrein gives no account, as was customary with him, of the number of his killed or wounded; he barely gives the names of the officers who suffered in either respect, and then unaccountably goes back, to state the loss which he sustained on the 6th of July: A circumstance that afforded at the time full room for supposing, that his loss in this action was greater, than he, or the French ministers, chose to acknowledge. This opinion was fully confirmed some months after, by an accurate state of the French loss in that action, which was brought home by the Fox packet from India. By that statement, which gives the particular loss of each ship, the whole number slain amounted to 412, and the wounded to 676. It is remarkable, that of these, Suffrein's own ship the *Heros*, whose crew at the beginning of the engagement

gement amounted to 1200 men, had no less than 140 killed, and 240 wounded; a slaughter seldom equalled, except in the cases of burning or blowing up. Suffrein was so little satisfied with the conduct of his officers, that he broke, and sent prisoners to the Mauritius, no less than six of his captains.

During this severe course of hostility by sea and land, in the Carnatic, and on the coasts of Coromandel and Ceylon, that fatal source of all the loss and most imminent danger, which the company had been exposed to in India, was, at length, most fortunately closed, by the termination of the Mahratta war. The ruin which had fallen upon the Carnatic, the still exceedingly doubtful state of the war with Hyder Ally, with the vast increase of its expense and danger, through the great force sent out by France, and the addition of Holland in the opposite scale, were, all together, at length able to dispel those visionary ideas, which had been so long entertained and so pertinaciously adhered to, of procuring a revolution in the Mahratta government, or of effecting a partition of their dominions. Nor could the flattering successes of the Bengal army, nor the alluring hopes of permanent conquest, and the attainment of great territorial revenue on the side of Bombay, any longer withstand the operative effect of those powerful causes.

On the other side, the free and generous release of the Bombay army at Worgaum, by Madajee Scindia, had early marked the favourable disposition of that eminent chief to the English; nor did the shameful breach of faith which his country experienced upon that occasion, and by which he was himself so deeply and personally affected, seem at all to render him, in his subsequent conduct, either a bitter or an implacable enemy. We have accordingly seen, that a separate treaty of peace was negotiated and concluded with Madajee Scindia by colonel Muir, about the time that the war of Benares had been brought to a conclusion. This was the prelude to Madajee's becoming the successful mediator to restore peace and harmony between the English and the court of Poonah. Indeed the placability of the Mahrattas through the whole course of these late wars, and the moderation of their re-

sentments, under great losses, and the most grievous provocations, must ever appear unaccountable to Europeans. In fact, they never seemed to be truly angry, much less to harbour any appearance of malice, or fixed revenge; and they appeared to be equally disposed to listen to terms of accommodation, under the impressions of success or defeat.

Nor will the constitution of the Mahratta government, as developed by the present transaction (unless, indeed, that this proceeded merely from the disordered state of their affairs), appear less singular. Madajee Scindia, already a subject to a certain degree, as holding large territories by a loose feudal tenure, straitens the bands much more closely, and renders himself entirely amenable to government, by holding the first offices, and consequently becoming the immediate servant of the state. He is the leader of their armies in a dangerous war against a powerful enemy, and in the midst of that war not only concludes a separate peace for himself and his own territories, without the participation or consent of his masters, but enters into a treaty of close friendship and alliance with this declared and dangerous enemy to the state. This might be considered as desertion and treachery; but he continues still in the same command, without any attempt to deprive him of it, or any charge of having debauched the army; and then, still continuing in the capacity of general, he assumes at once the character of a neutral sovereign power, by mediating and concluding a peace in his camp, of which he becomes the guarantee to both parties for the faithful discharge of its conditions.

Mr. Anderson, being furnished with full powers by the governor general and council of Bengal, had the fortune to bring this business to a happy conclusion, and seems to have displayed great ability through the whole transaction. This treaty, as usual, takes its name from the place where it was concluded; being a village or town called Salbey, where Madajee Scindia had his headquarters; and where it was signed on the 17th of May 1782; being still to be confirmed by the ratification of the principals on both sides.

By the stipulations of this treaty, all places and countries whatever, Bassein included, which had been taken by the English from the Mahrattas, since the conclusion of the peace with colonel Upton (called the Poonah treaty), were to be restored to the Paishwa, within two months after the respective ratifications.—Salsette, and the adjoining islands (so exceedingly valuable and necessary to Bombay), which had been ceded to the English by Upton's treaty, were now confirmed to them for ever.—Baroach, and its territory, to be for ever confirmed to the English, according likewise to the terms of Upton's treaty.—A claim upon a territory near Baroach, valued at three lacks of rupees a year, which the Paishwa, in Upton's treaty, had promised to grant as a mark of friendship to the English (and which the failure on their side, with respect to other articles, had hitherto prevented from being fulfilled), was now, at the particular request of Scindia, entirely relinquished.—A disputed country, which the English had obtained from the Gujacars, and which the Paishwa claimed as his own, to be given up by the former, and the question of right between the others, to be settled in the usual course of justice, according to their own laws, and peculiar modes of tenure or inheritance.—The two Gujacars (of whom we have formerly taken notice) to be placed in exactly the same situation that they stood in before the war, and their territories subject to all former tributes and services to the Paishwa; but no retrospect to be taken as to conduct, nor no demands to be made with respect to the time past.—The firebrand, Ragonaut Row, who had been the author of so much mischief to his country, and the instrument of so much misfortune and calamity to the English, was to be allowed four months from the ratification to determine on the place of his future residence; after which time the English were bound not to afford him support, protection, assistance, or money for his expenses; but if he would, of his own accord, voluntarily repair to Madajee Scindia,

dia, and quietly reside with him, he was to be secured from all injury whatever, and the Paishwa was bound to allow him a pension of 25,000 rupees a month (amounting to about 36,000 l. a year) for his support; all territories, or grants of territory, given by him to the English, being for ever relinquished.

With respect to Hyder Ally, the Mahrattas engaged, that within six months after the ratification of the treaties, he should be obliged to relinquish to the English and to their allies, all places which he had taken from them during the war; that all the prisoners on both sides should be released; and the English, on their side, agree, that on the performance of these conditions, and so long afterwards as Hyder should abstain from hostilities against them and their allies, and so long as he should continue in peace with the Paishwa, they would, in no respect, act hostilely against him.

This was, indeed, a great point gained; but the grand concession made by the Mahrattas, and an article of still greater importance than even the foregoing, is that by which the Paishwa binds himself, and all his subordinate chiefs, or in other words the whole Mahratta people, from suffering any other European nation to establish factories in their dominions; and from holding any intercourse of friendship with any other European nation; but the Portuguese, with respect to their ancient settlements in the Mahratta countries, were particularly and expressly excepted from the conclusion. On the other hand, the English bind themselves, not to afford any assistance to any nation of the Decan, or Hindostan, at enmity with the Paishwa. And by a subsequent article the parties mutually agree, that neither shall afford any assistance to the enemies of the other.

The allies on both sides are included in the benefits, and bound to the conditions of the perpetual peace. The Nizam of the Decan, and Ragojee Boosla, the son and successor of Moodajee Boosla, the Berar Rajah (whose name we have had occasion heretofore so often to mention), are particularly stated as allies to the Mahrattas; from which it might perhaps be inferred, that
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the latter is not now considered as being in any degree of dependance on the Mahratta empire: The nabob of Arcot, with the vizier Azoph Ul Doula, soubah of Oude, are those specified as allies on the side of the English. The principals on both sides became responsible for the conduct of all the subordinates and members of their respective authority; the governor general and supreme council being answerable for the presidencies of Bombay and Madras, as well as for the factory at Surat. We have already observed that Madajee Scindia was the mutual guarantee; but this was not merely a nominal office; for he was specifically bound by the treaty, in case of any violation of it by either party, to assist the injured in bringing the other to a proper understanding. Some perhaps may imagine that this scheme of guarantying, by which Scindia was, as it may be thought, rather strangely, instituted the conservator of good faith between the two parties, looked forward to other matters, besides his mere attention to the written formalities of a treaty, or his watchfulness in detecting and punishing all infractions of it. But it is to be remembered that Madajee, independent of his princely, and which may in effect be considered as little less than tantamount to a royal patrimony, was in fact, through his high offices and great interest, the second person in the Mahratta government, under the minor Paishwa; so that he was an excellent security to the English for the good faith of his countrymen, however incapable he might have been of compelling their own.

Nothing could have been more fortunate with respect to time and the occasion than this peace; and, independent of the peculiar circumstances which rendered it of such vast importance in those respects, it was by no means deficient in others; and it perhaps afforded as many advantages to the English, as it would have been consistent with their own real interests to obtain. Without any inquiry into the rate, at which that iron curb, now clapping into the mouth of Hyder, might be estimated, the exclusion of all other Europeans from the Mahratta trade and dominions, was a concession of such value and magnitude,

nitude, that it becomes a matter of astonishment, how, in the present inauspicious state of affairs, it could have been obtained. Upon the whole, it will be easily observed, that the English gave up nothing to which they had a natural right, and that the Mahrattas gained nothing more than the recovery of their own possessions, which had not only been unjustly, but under the aggravation of the most injurious circumstances wrested from them. But leaving the matter of right and justice entirely out of the question, it will probably be found a real and permanent advantage to the English, that they had been under a necessity of relinquishing those territories. For though they might have afforded, for a time, a considerable, and perhaps a large annual revenue, yet the holding them upon such terms, would ever have been productive of war, danger, and mischief; but that their possession could not, in the nature of things, be lasting. Indeed the company's conquests had already swelled far beyond their grasp.

Upon the whole, Mr. Anderson had undoubtedly great merit in negotiating and perfecting the treaty of Salbey.

Madajee Scindia, like other statesmen, was, upon this occasion, properly attentive to his own peculiar interest. The city of Baroach, with its valuable territories, producing a clear revenue of about 200,000*l.* a year, was, by a private or separate agreement, ceded to him and to his family for ever by the English. Such an addition to his hereditary possessions cannot fail greatly to increase his weight and power in the empire; which may possibly lay the foundation of new revolutions in the Mahratta government. It is easily seen, that in any other state of things than that which now prevailed on the side of the Mahrattas, this circumstance would have been deemed sufficient to vitiate the whole proceedings, and have served as good ground for refusing to ratify the treaty.

From whatever cause it proceeded, the length of time that elapsed before the ratification took place, notwithstanding the strong remonstrances made by the governor general, as well by as Madajee Scindia upon the subject, sufficiently indicates

indicates the great difficulties which the measure met with at the court of Poonah. It would seem, that Nana Furnavese, the Paishwa's nominal prime minister, but in fact the regent, and Madajee Scindia, were at the head of the two great parties, which by their union govern, and by their dissention are capable of convulsing the Mahratta empire. Independent of any remains of their past enmity, something near an equality of power must be at all times necessary to preserve the accord of two such leaders; and however convenience, and the apprehension of consequences, may operate in that respect, their mutual jealousy will still continue, and render each exceedingly watchful of the other. It cannot then be supposed, that the Mahratta minister could be indifferent, or could even avoid being alarmed, at the great accession of influence, power, and weight, which the conduct of the war, the conclusion of the peace, the acquisition of Baroach, and the friendship of the English, could not but procure to Madajee Scindia. Nor would it be a matter of wonder, considering the spirit of intrigue, which the company's servants had so long manifested with respect to the affairs and government of the Mahrattas, if he suspected that their extraordinary union with Madajee Scindia might be directed to future as well as present objects; and that so valuable a surrender as that of Baroach, was not made merely for the accomplishment and guarantee of the peace. Such probably were some of the causes, which so long delayed the ratification of the treaty by the court of Poonah.

There being no harbour on the western coast of the island of Ceylon, in which, at that late season of the year, sir Edward Hughes could anchor with safety, and several of the ships making much water, through shot-holes which could not be come at in the open sea, besides that they had much other damage to repair, he found it necessary, after the action of the 3d of September, to return with the squadron to Madras. As the monsoon season was at hand, when the line of battle ships could not continue with safety on that coast, the admiral intended no more at Madras, than to give the ships such a
hasty

hasty repair, and to take on board such a stock of provisions and water, as would be necessary for their proceeding round to Bombay; where, besides being safe from the monsoon, they were to be coppered, and to receive such a thorough equipment, as, along with the certain recovery and health, which that place at all times afforded to the crews, would enable them, when the season admitted, to return to the coast of Coromandel with a fresh stock of vigour and ability. He had likewise great hopes of there meeting with sir Richard Bickerton, of whom he had yet received no intelligence, and whose junction could alone enable him to withstand the great reinforcement from France and the islands which was expected to join Suffrein.

But before he could fully accomplish the purposes which detained him at Madras, the squadron was exposed to great and unforeseen danger, by one of the most sudden and dreadful hurricanes that had been remembered even on that coast. On the 15th of October, the ships of war were fortunately anchored in a deep water of 15 fathoms, and it was still more fortunate that the tempest blew from the shore, otherwise the consequences to the squadron would have been fatal. Having soon parted their cables, they put out to sea, most of their boats being ashore, and many lost in the effort to recover their ships; the long-boats, however, were able to withstand the fury of the tempest, and without an exception succeeded in the endeavour.

Nothing could be more deplorable than the scene of distress and horror, which soon presented itself at Madras. The shore for several miles was covered with wrecks, and with the bodies of the dead and dying; while the roaring of the surf, and the howling of the tempest, intermixed with the piercing cries of those who were yet struggling with fate, were insupportable to the senses of the terrified hearers or beholders on shore. Several English trading ships, of which number was the Earl of Hertford Indiaman, were either sunk at their anchors, or dashed to pieces on the shore. About a hundred of the coasting vessels of the country met with the

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the same fate. Such trading ships and transports, as had not been so suddenly overwhelmed, as to prevent their being able to cut, and to put out to sea, generally escaped; and it seems almost unaccountable, that a few had braved and rode out the storm.

This hurricane was still more grievous to humanity in its consequences than in its immediate effect, by screwing up to its highest pitch a calamity, which had long prevailed in a certain degree, and the most deplorable to which mankind is liable. The desolation of the country having prevented the cultivation of rice, the failure of this supply, which constitutes almost their only food, could not but reduce the natives to great penury and distress in that respect. Still, however, the great supplies which the English procured of that article, by sea, at Madras, though incapable of affording any thing like plenty to the multitudinous native inhabitants of that city, as well as those depending on it in the neighbourhood, yet was sufficient, according to their very abstemious manner of living, to preserve them from the absolute extremes of want. The depredations of the French upon the rice ships, since their arrival upon the coast, had so much narrowed these supplies, that even the garrison of Madras had for some time been reduced to a short allowance of that article. A great supply had newly arrived before the hurricane; but through that unfortunate event, most of the provision vessels were lost before they could discharge their cargoes; and this misfortune coming upon the preceding penury, the consequences were obvious.

The famine at Madras, accordingly, became within a few days calamitous in the extreme. Money could procure no relief, where the wanted commodity did not exist. The roads, outlets, and even the streets, were strowed with the dead and the dying. It was estimated, that at least 200 of the natives perished every day. All other people had a resource in animal food; but the constancy and fortitude with which the unhappy Hindoos endured the lingering torments and the intolerable pangs of hunger, and the more than philosophic calmness and mild-

ness, with which, without a complaint or a murmur, they submitted silently to their fate, rather than to preserve life at the expense of those laws which they held to be sacred, was not less astonishing than deplorable. -- Surely such virtue, however mistaken in its principle or direction, cannot fail of the reward due to its intrinsic worth !

As soon as the news of this calamity reached Bengal, the governor general and council ordered every vessel in the river of Calcutta to be immediately loaded with provisions, and despatched with the utmost expedition to Madras ; and so laudable was the diligence used on the occasion, that a great fleet of victuallers arrived, and a most ample supply of rice was furnished, sooner than the most sanguine expectation could even have hoped. Their humanity and benevolence of individuals was likewise nobly exerted at Madras during the sad intervening term, by procuring large supplies of rice from every place within reach for the relief of the famished multitude. But notwithstanding all these efforts, about 10,000 of the natives were supposed to have perished through this calamity.

Sir Edward Hughes experienced a continued course of extraordinarily bad weather in his passage to Bombay ; and we may judge in some degree how boisterous it was, when for near a month scarcely any two ships of the squadron had been able to speak together. The *Superbe* was accordingly dismasted, and suffered much more in every respect than any other of the ships ; so that the admiral was obliged to quit her, and shift his flag to the *Sultan*. In order to expedite the repair of the squadron, and knowing that only four ships of the line could be laid down at once in the docks at Bombay, he left the *Hero*, the *Monmouth*, and the *Sceptre* (being probably those which had suffered least damage), to be refitted at the ancient Portuguese capital of Goa ; once the great and famed emporium of the Europeans in the East. The exceeding tediousness of the voyage, together with the necessity the ships were under of keeping their lower ports closely shut through the whole way, occasioned the crews

of those which kept on for Bombay, to grow sickly in an extreme degree ; and they were at length so scattered by the unceasing continuance of the bad weather, that their separate arrival at that place, extended from the 13th to the 21st of December. The recovery of the sick at Bombay was so sudden, as almost to exceed all belief.

Sir Richard Bickerton arrived at Madras from Bombay, with five ships of the line, and his convoy, towards the end of October, having neither met nor heard of the admiral ; and what was much less to be expected, having good weather all the way, and being totally ignorant of the hurricane until his arrival. He had brought with him under convoy, three regiments of infantry of 1000 men each, of which one was Hanoverian, besides Sir John Burgoyne's regiment of light horse, amounting to about 340, and a thousand recruits, which had been raised for the company's service in Ireland. Notwithstanding the unusual length of time which they spent in the voyage, both the seamen and troops were uncommonly healthy, and the ships of war in excellent condition. Sir R. Bickerton returned to Bombay to join the admiral ; and it requires some knowledge of the theory of the winds in the Indian seas not to be surprised, that he arrived at that place some weeks before him, and met with the most favourable weather through the whole way.

The French now experienced the vast advantages which they derived from the possession of Trincomalé, as the English did, the full extent of those evil consequences which resulted from its loss. The former, instead of being exposed to the rigours of the monsoon, before they had yet well recovered the effects of the late action, and being besides obliged to abandon the scene of action, and to return to the African islands, as well for safety as equipment, were now fully at ease, and in the greatest security, thoroughly refitting their ships at that place. By being thus immediately upon the spot, they became the uncontrolled masters of the Indian seas, as soon as the season for action began to open, and were thereby enabled, at a most critical period, to interrupt with great effect, and much mischief to the English, the trade

and intercourse between Bengal and Madras. In the intermediate time, they proceeded to Achen, on the coast of Sumatra, probably to procure some articles of supply, which the island of Ceylon was not competent to furnish. As they were in expectation of being joined, as soon as the season admitted, by the marquis de Bussy, with the last division of his troops from the Mauritius, which were estimated at about 5000 men, and as he was to be accompanied by a strong reinforcement of fresh ships of war, which were newly arrived from France, and were to bring a vast supply of all manner of naval and military stores and provision, together with the most formidable train of artillery that had ever been sent to India at any one time, they entertained no doubt, but that the tide of war, both by sea and by land, would, in the ensuing season, be turned entirely in their favour.

But during this state of hope and design on their side, the governments of Bengal and Bombay, being now freed from the Mahratta war, were directing their views to the making of so powerful a diversion on the Malabar side, as would compel Hyder entirely to abandon the Carnatic, and return to the defence of his own dominions; which he might in a little time, perhaps, find a task more than equal to his powers. In that case, all the designs of France would be entirely frustrated; as she was totally incapable of maintaining a war singly, for any length of time, against the English in the Carnatic; nor could she ever support such an European force there as would be equivalent to the purpose, if they were freed from their contests with the native powers.

In the mean time, until matters were ripe for greater exertions, and encouraged perhaps by the success of major Abington, the presidency of Bombay had, towards the close of the European summer, despatched colonel Humberstone, with a considerable detachment both of the king's and the company's forces, to the coast of Malabar. This officer soon took or gained possession of the ancient and royal capital of Calicut, which lies upon the coast, between 30 and 40 miles to the southward of Tellicherry; and proceeding farther in the same direction,

tion, took the considerable city of Panian, or Paniany, lying about the same distance beyond Calicut; all the intermediate places along the coast undoubtedly falling into his hands.

Encouraged by these successes, and perceiving no enemy able to oppose him, the colonel ventured to quit the sea-coast, and to direct his operations inland. This happened early in the month of September 1782; and as none of the places specified on his route appear in the maps, we can only suppose that he bent his course towards the borders of the Coimbatour country. However that was, it is evident that he encountered great difficulties on his way, and that several weeks elapsed, without his being able to penetrate to any considerable distance. In that course he took a number of small forts, which there much abound, in order to guard the narrow passes and deep defiles of those almost impracticable mountainous regions, which every-where environ that iron-bound and narrow country which stretches along the coast of Malabar.

Having at length taken and garrisoned a fort called Mungarry Cottah, which lay in so strong a position as to afford a secure retreat, the colonel advanced to the siege or attack of a town called Palacatcherry; and which seems to have been of more strength or consideration than any he had yet met. He arrived before this place on the 19th of October; but it soon appeared, that he had been miserably deceived and misled by his intelligence; for on the very next day, he found the enemy so unexpectedly strong, and so close upon him, that he was compelled to a sudden and hasty retreat; and though it was only eight miles to Mungarry Cottah, he was pursued and attacked with such violence and fury, that besides the men who fell, he lost both his baggage and provisions in that short way. Major Hutchinson, of the 98th regiment, was mortally wounded in this unfortunate affair.

The government of Bombay having received 15 lacks of rupees from Bengal, in order to enable them to carry on the war with vigour on the coast of Malabar, and being themselves apprehensive that Humberstone's situation

at Mungarry Cottah was exceedingly perilous, they used the utmost expedition in despatching general Matthews, with such troops as were immediately at hand, to his relief; for a considerable part of those forces which they had employed in the Mahratta war, and which were now destined to the Malabar service, had not yet returned from the northward.

In the intermediate time, Tippoo Saib, being greatly alarmed at the danger in which the Malabar coast was involved, and extremely irritated at Humberstone's penetrating into the interior country, he determined to set such an example of vengeance, as, at the same time that it removed the evil and danger, might serve to damp the enterprize of future invaders on that tender and vulnerable side. He accordingly, with his usual address and activity, suddenly and secretly collected a considerable body of troops, conducting his measures with such ability, that his motions, and even his departure from the Carnatic, were scarcely observed upon the spot; and using equal precautions to conceal his march, he proceeded with incredible rapidity to cut off the British detachment at Mungarry Cottah.

But notwithstanding all his diligence and precautions, colonel Humberstone had the fortune, by some means of which we are not informed, to receive intelligence of his arrival, with some troops, on the northern banks of the Coleroon; and it happened no less fortunately, that though the intelligence went no farther, the colonel at once suspecting his design, immediately blew up and destroyed the fortifications at Mungarry Cottah, and retreated to Ramgaree; where, receiving certain intelligence, that Tippoo Saib was approaching with the utmost rapidity, he retreated (November 20th) to Paniany, which he reached in a march of two days. He had run some risque in waiting upon this occasion to destroy the works at Ramgaree; for he was closely pursued, and not a little harassed by the enemy, during the course of the two subsequent days retreat; but it is probable, that none but their irregular cavalry had been able to come up, for his loss of men was so very
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small as to show that the pursuers were by no means formidable.

Colonel Macleod being just arrived at Paniany from Madras, the command of the forces of course devolved to him; nor was this in any degree to be considered as a mere honorary command; for at the instant of receiving it he found himself invested by Tippoo Saib and Mons. Lally, with a very formidable force, consisting of 8000 regular infantry, including some hundreds of French and other Europeans, who composed Lally's corps; of 10,000 cavalry, and above 6000 poligars. The British troops were strongly posted with respect to natural advantages; and they spared no industry in improving these by new works; they were likewise supported and assisted by the Juno frigate and the Pondicherry armed ship. The enemy kept up a considerable but ineffectual cannonade for several days, without any farther attempt; and this circumstance, along with some misinformation in respect to their strength, and, possibly, more than both, a sense of the facility with which Indian armies had been heretofore liable to defeat and ruin in the same manner, induced the British commander to attempt, at the dawn of day, to surprise their camp. But Hyder's son was not to be caught asleep in his camp. After forcing an out-post or two, and taking a few prisoners, the colonel either perceived such a face of things, or received such intelligence, as convinced him that it was necessary to relinquish his design, before he was too far involved in the attempt.

This insult was returned by the enemy a few days after; who made a regular and vigorous attack with their whole army upon the British lines and works, being led by Lally at the head of his Europeans; but they were every-where repulsed with the greatest gallantry, and with no small loss to themselves; the termination of the affair, so far as the great disparity of force would permit the victors to profit of their success, being no less than an absolute defeat. About 200 of their dead, whom they could not carry off, were buried by the English; and a French officer, who led up one of the columns to the attack,

attack, was taken prisoner. Colonel Macleod had great merit in this action; and his conduct fully justified all the praise that was bestowed on it.

Tippoo Saib acknowledged his defeat, by repassing the river of Paniany, and placing it as a barrier against his enemy. A state of inaction succeeded on both sides for several days; but in the night between the 11th and 12th of December, Tippoo Saib suddenly broke up his camp, and returned by the most rapid marches to Palacatcherry; from whence he held on his course directly back to the Carnatic. As Hyder had for some time been grievously afflicted by a most painful and incurable disorder, no doubt can be entertained, but that this precipitate retreat proceeded either from intelligence of his death, or of his life being in extreme danger; for it is not to be supposed that any thing less could have induced him to abandon the Malabar coast, in the state of danger, to which he knew his departure would expose both that and the interior countries; nor were there any military operations, either in act, or in immediate contemplation in the Carnatic, which could at all have demanded his presence.

In the mean time, colonel Macleod being reinforced by some troops from Bombay, and general Mathews having received intelligence at Goa of Tippoo Saib's defeat and retreat, and knowing that the detachment to the southward was thereby freed from all danger, he changed his intention of proceeding much lower down the coast, and directed his views to an attack upon Hyder in the richest and most valuable parts, as well as those the most remote from succour, of all his dominions. In this view he proceeded with the fleet and forces to the river Mirjee, which falls into the sea, something about 80 miles to the southward of Goa, and about five leagues to the northward of Onore. After taking a fort at the mouth of this river, he changed his design of attacking another fortress of greater strength which lay higher up, and proceeded directly to besiege the city of Onore, which lies about midway between Paniany and Bombay, and is something about 300 miles from either. It seems to be
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the capital of the long and narrow territory of Canaree, shut in between the mountains and the sea; and separated by the former from the ancient kingdom of Canara, of which it is a member.

General Mathews had already despatched most of the transports with a convoy to the southward, with orders to bring up all the troops that could be spared from the mere purposes of defence on that part of the coast, to assist in his intended operations. In consequence of which colonel Macleod immediately embarked as many troops as the ships were capable of receiving, consisting of all the Europeans, and of the second regiment of sepoy, with which he proceeded, under convoy of the Isis and Juno, to join the general; two other regiments of sepoy, being left at Tellicherry in readiness to proceed, together with the elephants and draught bullocks, and the Africa man of war staying behind for their convoy, as soon as other ships should arrive for their conveyance.

But before the arrival of the southern troops, (January 5th, 1783) Onore was taken by storm, and a cruel slaughter was said to have been made of the inhabitants of all sexes, ages, and orders, as well as of the garrison; the official accounts however state, that the killedar, or governor, with 1200 men, were made prisoners. It is to be observed, that Hyder had no regular forces in this or the neighbouring parts of his dominions; that the defence of the country was committed entirely to the native poligars or militia; and that these, particularly in this quarter, had never before seen the face or appearance of war; for the kingdom of Canara (which, from the former name of its capital, is generally called by the English the Bednore Country) had fallen to Hyder without striking a blow; and its situation had, in all earlier times, been considered as inaccessible to the approach of an enemy. Though no particulars as to the amount are given, the plunder at Onore must have been necessarily very great; and some peculiar circumstances which then took place with respect to the disposition of the spoil, laid the seeds of that dissatisfaction and discontent between the commander and the army, which continued to grow up and
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strengthen through the whole course of the expedition, and ended in mutual charge and accusation.

Hyder Ally's death happened about this time; probably towards the close of the year 1782. We are left in the dark as to time, place, and all the other circumstances of that event; for as Tippoo Saib's situation afforded the strongest motives for keeping it secret as long as possible, so, when it could no longer be concealed, it was passed over as a thing already known, without the parade of a detail which would have been then out of time.

Hyder Ally was undoubtedly one of the greatest princes, as well as the greatest warrior, that India ever produced. His mind was so vast and comprehensive, as at once to reach to and embrace all the parts of war and of government. It seemed as if all the qualities necessary to the foundation and permanency of a great empire, were among the earliest seeds that sprung up in his mind; and that he looked forward from the smallest beginnings, to that ultimate point which never departed from his view. The formation of such a native military force, as India never had beheld, and was thought incapable of producing; the conquest of great countries, and the acquisition of others without the sword; the raising of these to a degree of power, estimation, and real value, which they never before possessed; afforded but a moderate display of Hyder's talents and abilities. Besides the establishment of a mighty empire, and the reducing of the Europeans to their original state of merchants and factors, living, as such, entirely under the protection and government of the state, his vast designs reached, not only to becoming the greatest commercial power of Asia, but to what the East had never before beheld, the creation of an invincible navy, which should for ever secure the coasts of India from the invasions or insults of foreigners. If he was not a legislator, he had, however, the merit of establishing so mild and equitable a system of government in his dominions, that the new subjects of so many countries were not only attached to his person in a most extraordinary degree, but the neighbour-
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ing nations showed on every occasion their wishes to come under his protection ; excepting only from the foregoing part of this conclusion, that most singular of all people, the conquered Nairs on the Malabar coast ; whose habits were invincible, though their bodies were easily subdued.

Nor was he more redoubtable as a warrior than as a statesman ; and if his actions, and the chain and motives of his conduct, had not been too remote from observation, to be thoroughly known and comprehended, he might possibly have been considered as one of the first politicians of his day, whether in Europe or in Asia. He was so far from being naturally cruel, that he differed in that respect from all the eastern conquerors of whom we have any knowledge ; but as he detested all private treachery, and was a strict observer himself of the laws of war, and of the public faith, so his punishments in the one instance, and his retaliations in the other, were so extremely severe, as to carry upon some occasions the appearance of cruelty ; especially with those who were not informed of the causes, or who were not disposed to consider the motives. Hyder despised, and dispensed with, so far as it could with propriety be done, the vain pageantry and haughty pomp of the Indian courts ; living in habits of great intimacy and familiarity with his friends, courtiers, and officers ; displaying in his own person the frank manners of a camp, instead of the proud distance and austere reserve of an eastern despot. He had been, greatly through their own fault, and partly through their interference with his designs, a bitter, and very nearly a fatal enemy, to the English East India company ; but it would be disgraceful and mean, on that account, to suppress his virtues, or endeavour to conceal his great qualities.

General Mathews had received positive orders from the president and council of Bombay, that, if the reports of Hyder's death were confirmed, he should, without delay, use every possible exertion, to penetrate through the Gauts, as the passes in the mountains on both sides of the Peninsula are called, into the Bednore or Canara country,

country, and particularly to gain possession of the capital; which, along with a strong fort on a small mountain that joins the city, were the great depositaries of Hyder's treasures, as well as the grand magazines of his arms and military stores. That commander accordingly, after the taking of Onore, proceeded farther down the coast, which was still pursuing the line of conduct proposed, where he took the town of Cundapore, with little loss or difficulty.

That easy success did not however seem to reconcile him to the enterprise against the Bednore country; for immediately after the taking of Cundapore, he represented in very strong terms to the government of Bombay, the difficulty, if not the impracticability of that design; stating the total insufficiency of his army for the purpose, and the necessary fatal consequences of a failure, which he seemed to think inevitable.

This despondency of their commander, in the actual course of success, when the most sanguine hopes were already formed, and no enemy appeared within reach, nor no untoward accident intervened to prevent their completion, excited great dissatisfaction at Bombay. That government had built much of their design in the invasion of the Bednore country upon the supposed disaffection of Hyder's subjects, and the disorders which his death, in such a disposition of the people, would occasion in every part of his dominions; nothing less than revolutions in whole kingdoms were expected, and even reported, as facts, to have happened; and as that temper was particularly attributed to the kingdom of Canara, it was not to be imagined, under that opinion, that any extraordinary force would be necessary, to induce the inhabitants to the accomplishment of their own wishes, in throwing off or rejecting the government of Tippoo Saib.

But however dissatisfied the president and council were, in being obliged to relinquish their favourite object, they did not think it by any means fitting or prudent to persevere in exacting a strict compliance with their former orders, when so decided an opinion had been given against
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the design, by the very officer who was entrusted with carrying it into execution. They accordingly, though with great reluctance, relaxed their former orders, in the new instructions which they despatched to general Matthews; giving him a discretionary power, with respect to deferring, or to proceeding on the designed expedition; but, at the same time, strongly recommending to him, that he would, in balancing the difficulties against the advantages, give due weight in the latter scale, to the consequences which were naturally or probably to be expected from Hyder's death.

But that commander had already taken his measures without waiting for any instructions; and it would indeed seem that they had been determined upon, at the very time that he remonstrated so strongly to his employers upon their impracticability. His conduct at and after this time was so extraordinary, that it not only became mysterious, but in many instances totally unintelligible. He seemed to forget the government by which he was employed, and that he was under the control of any. All correspondence with Bombay was at an end; and through the whole course of the subsequent splendid successes, no military detail of the proceedings of the army under his command, was ever transmitted by him to that or to any other government. It is with pain we recount, that as slaughter, cruelty, rapine, and avarice, had disgraced this expedition in its commencement at Onore, so the same detestable maxims and vices continued to stain its whole progress, until they were, as its fatal conclusion, most cruelly requited; when the innocent became, indiscriminately with the guilty, victims to the rage of an exasperated and merciless enemy.

Under one of the circumstances which we have already stated, and others which will appear in the course of the narration, it will be easily seen, that we are left much in the dark as to the detail of the ensuing military operations. A few leading facts serve to form an authenticated general outline; the intervening matter must be considered either as a deduction necessarily proceeding from these, or as resting upon the authority of those private letters which have appeared from some of the offi-

cers engaged in the expedition, to their friends ; but even of this kind of information, the calamity, which finally involved the destruction of the whole army, has occasioned an unusual paucity. Indeed one officer has since declared, that at that unhappy instant, he tore to pieces in the face of the enemy, a regular detail which he had written, of the whole course of military operations throughout the expedition.

It may be judged from some of these accounts, that the ideas entertained at Bombay, of conciliating the goodwill of the natives, and thereby of encouraging the disposition of the people to a revolt against the government of Tippoo Saib, were either not at all understood, or, at least, were by no means adopted by the army ; for the surprising and surrounding of a few hundreds of the unmilitary poligars at their posts, and without remorse or pity consigning them to the bayonet, are represented lightly, without the observation or reflection which such matters seem to demand.

The officer, indeed, who gives an account of the massacre at the fortress of Annampore, which was taken by storm, under some preceding circumstances of aggravation on the side of the governor, and whence only one horseman, desperately wounded, had the fortune to escape the general slaughter, seems to feel no small compunction and horror, in describing the spectacle which was there exhibited, of four hundred beautiful women, all bleeding with wounds of the bayonet, and either already dead, or expiring in each others arms ; while the common soldiers, casting off all obedience to their officers, were stripping off their jewels, and committing every outrage on their bodies. He says, that others of the women (without taking notice whether their lives were offered or not), rather than to be torn from their relations, threw themselves into large tanks, and were drowned. He however observes, that the troops were afterwards severely reprimanded for this action.

Such enormities undoubtedly deserved a severe vengeance ! Whether in the degree it was soon inflicted, may be another consideration.

A fortunate ignorance of the difficulty and danger of forcing a passage through the Gauts, seemed to be the only apology that could be made for the attempt, at least in the manner that it was conducted; and the success served to justify the rashness of the undertaking. The only account we have of this transaction, is from an officer who was one of the party engaged in the attack; and he acknowledges that the post would have been impregnable in any other hands than those of the *molley crew*, as he calls them, who were appointed to its defence. He describes the pass as being about eight feet wide, three miles in length, and strongly fortified. The party sent on so desperate and important a service, consisted only of the Bombay light company of Europeans, and between three and four hundred sepoy. He says they took the first barrier with little opposition; but that when they were arrived at the second, they were alarmed at the prodigious number and strong position of the enemy; but that as it would be then no less dangerous to retreat than to advance, they attacked them with such vigour, that they soon fled, leaving about 500 of their killed and wounded behind. Being flushed by this success, they then made their way with the bayonet, notwithstanding a heavy cannonade, until they had gained the summit of the Gaut, by which the work was completed. He likewise informs us, that having then despatched an account of their success to the general, he expressed his astonishment no less than his satisfaction at the event.

The mountains being thus scaled, their passes secured, and a free communication established with the sea-coasts, the rich, and ever yet unspoiled Canara kingdom, with its capital, Hyder's royal favourite palace, and as it was supposed his treasures, together with many of those things on which he had most set his heart, now lay open and defenceless to the hands of the invaders.

The city of Bednore, the residence through many unknown ages of the ancient and sequestered kings of Canara, had of late changed its name to Hyder Nagur, or the royal city of Hyder; a name which the English did not at this time admit, and which they hoped entirely

to annihilate. This capital was to be ranked among the largest and finest cities in India; its extent being so considerable, that some of its streets run nearly in a right line two leagues in length; while its greatness was forgotten in the consideration of its beauty. But its population was not proportioned to its extent; for being the favourite residence of the nobility, their spacious palaces and extensive gardens, enclosing vast basins or reservoirs of water (one of the favourite and most pleasing luxuries of the East), took up much, and probably the greater part of the ground. The Christian religion had been early propagated (undoubtedly by the Portuguese), and still flourished so exceedingly in this city, that a majority of its inhabitants, estimated at 30,000, were of that profession.

The government and command of the city and country were lodged in the hands of Hyat Saib, who seems to have most worthily discharged the trust reposed in him; and to have acted with a very extraordinary degree of judgment and policy in those measures which he pursued for the preservation of both from that impending ruin, which, all things considered, it is not probable that any others could at that time have averted.

This man, sensible of his total inability to oppose the enemy, and of the certain destruction which either that attempt or a flight would inevitably and immediately occasion, seems at once to have wisely directed his thoughts to the means, by which he might so judiciously apply a part of the whole of those treasures in his care, and which would otherwise become a spoil, as that they might serve to preserve the country, and more particularly the capital, from desolation and ruin, until his sovereign could arrive to their rescue, and might then perhaps recover the very ransom which was the price of their salvation.

If it was upon this principle that Hyat Saib acted, and none other is apparent, that could at all accord with his conduct, he certainly displayed great art, address, and knowledge of mankind in his management of the business. As soon as the English army had passed the Gauts,
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he despatched agents to the camp, who entered into a private negotiation with the general, and some sort of a strange treaty was concluded, the particulars of which, so far as our information goes, are not yet perfectly known. It was however understood in the army, and accords pretty generally with the private accounts received by the government of Bombay, even after they had seen the principal officers of the king's forces who returned thither, that the capital, the country, the fortrefs at Bednore, with the public treasures and property, were to be delivered up to the English; that the persons and property of the inhabitants were to be fully secured from all molestation and injury; and that Hyat Saib was to continue in the government under the authority of the English, holding much the same powers that he had done under Hyder.

The army then advanced to the capital, of which, as well as the fortrefs, they were put in possession pretty early in the month of February. The government of Bombay were informed, that notwithstanding this treaty and capitulation, the general, immediately upon getting possession of Bednore, broke through them, by suddenly seizing and confining Hyat Saib to a close imprisonment; and that many bad consequences resulted from the alarm given, and the impression made by this violent proceeding. They say, that very great treasures were found in the durbar, amounting to fourteen lacks and upwards, which were at first publicly shown to the officers by the general, and declared to be the property of the army: That there was much other treasure, and jewels, which were not exposed: That the breach between the general and Hyat Saib was soon after made up; and that the army were astonished in a few days after to hear, that all that money, which evidently belonged to the government of the country, had been claimed by Hyat Saib as his private property, and was, upon that plea, actually restored to him by the general.

The effect of this conduct on the army need not to be described; but it was increased upon this occasion, by a recollection of some former management tending to the

same object, which had been practised at the sack of Onore, and by which they considered themselves as having been wronged of the greater part of the booty found at that place. Nor did the general's measure, of carrying some of the principal officers to Hyat Saib, and prevailing upon him to make a present of half a lack of pagodas, amounting to about 20,000*l.* to the army, serve in any degree to allay the discontents, or to remove the suspicions, which so generally prevailed.

But as if all these things had not afforded sufficient grounds for dissatisfaction, and still more dangerous effects in the army, the general had the misfortune to quarrel with the principal officers of the king's troops, upon the discussion of some points of rank between them and the company's forces; matters of dispute, which it will be easily supposed, might have been well and prudently evaded in such a season. They were, however, so managed, that the colonels Macleod and Humberstone, with major Shaw, being the principal officers of the royal forces, and all gentlemen of distinguished character and honour, thought themselves so injuriously treated, that, in a few days after the taking of Bednore, they were under a necessity of quitting the army; and accordingly returned to Bombay, where they arrived towards the end of February. The loss of these officers was in due time, and that at no great distance, most fatally experienced.

During this course of such important events; the passage of the Gauts; the treaty with Hyat Saib; the reduction, or possession of the Bednore capital and country; besides several intervening military actions, and all the extraordinary affairs that afterwards sprung up; not a syllable of information, whether by letter or by message, had been received at Bombay from the general; and that government were under a necessity of applying to colonel Macleod for a detail of the operations of the army, as well as for such information as he could give, respecting the nature of the treaty with Hyat Saib.

At length, on the 4th of March, being almost a week after the arrival of the royal officers at Bombay, the general found leisure to forward his despatches from Bed-

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nore to that government. It was found upon their being received, that instead of conveying any particular, or even general account of his operations, of the treaty with Hyat Saib, or other matters, the explanation of which was so much expected and desired, his letter contained a general accusation against his whole army; charging them indiscriminately, without the exception of a single officer or soldier, with acts of the highest criminality.

He stated, that after the surrender of Bednore, the flame of discontent had broke out among the officers, which rapidly spread, from those in the king's immediate service, to those in the company's; and that this flame being blown by a few zealots for plunder and booty, he was apt to think was the cause, which deprived him at that critical time, of the services of the colonels Macleod and Humberstone: That the agents for the captors had been loud in their representations of the supposed right of the army; and that they and the officers had done every thing that was disrespectful and injurious to him; which circumstances, so contrary to good order and discipline, could not fail to increase the spirit of plunder in the soldiery, who, encouraged by the practice of the officers, were become as loose and unfeeling as the most licentious freebooters.—He called upon the government to take measures for preventing such dangerous proceedings; said, that the troops in Bednore were almost in a state of mutiny; that the enemy were collecting a force within 30 miles; and that the prospect of resettling that city became every moment more distant, through the dejection of Hyat Saib; who, from the illiberal and indecent expressions of officers, was filled with apprehensions that made him utterly despond, and rendered him incapable of any exertion.

Nothing is mentioned of the treasure, which was the ground of dissatisfaction or dispute, nor whether any treasure whatever was found at Bednore; and the government of Bombay were by him left totally in the dark, as to the objects to which the rapacity attributed to the army was directed.

As the general had referred in his letter to the disputes between him and colonel Macleod, relative not only to rank, but to the manner of supplying the king's forces on service, and to certain papers upon the subject, which he supposed had been already laid before the board, these were accordingly demanded and obtained from the colonel. That government likewise found themselves under a necessity of applying to him and to colonel Humberstone, for all the verbal information, and for all the written details, relative to the proceedings and state of the army, during that period in which they had been kept totally in the dark upon the subject, between the time that the general wrote his letter from Cundapore on the 19th of January, and that of their departure from Bednore.

The result of all their information and inquiries was, a declaration that imputations of the most serious nature, and supported by strong testimony, appeared against the general; And that, feeling the strongest conviction that the service could not prosper in his hands, they thought it their indispensable duty not to continue him any longer in the command of the army. They accordingly passed a resolution to remove him from the command of the army, as well as to suspend him from the company's service, until he had cleared up the charges which appeared against him. As colonel Macleod was the first officer in rank upon the coast, besides his merit having been already eminently distinguished in the defeat of Tippoo Saib, he was appointed to the command of the army in the Bednore country; and colonel Humberstone and major Shaw were required to rejoin it along with him.

It was the latter end of March before these resolutions were passed, and this appointment made; and that unfortunate army was doomed never to experience the benefits which it might have derived from the abilities of those approved officers.

They were, however, permitted to bask in the glare of a short-lived success. That formidable hostile force which the general represented in his letter as collecting within

within 30 miles of him, must have been totally ideal, as the subsequent events fully show that no enemy whatever appeared either then or long after in the country. He had indeed an enemy, and that enemy sufficiently dangerous; but he was far distant, and not yet even in motion. Hyat Saib had managed matters with so much address, that so far from suffering any appearances in the Bednore country, which could excite alarm or apprehension, he carried his policy so far (if we may credit some of the private accounts), as to offer to raise a considerable body of forces to join and support the English army; and the general is even charged with despising his enemy too much, and with placing too great a confidence in his own force, for refusing this dangerous succour.

The upper country being thus apparently secure, the troops carried on their operations upon the coast with great success. On the upper part towards Goa, a captain Carpenter invaded the Sundah, or Sounda country (which Hyder had conquered or recovered from the Portuguese, as an appendage to his then new kingdom of Canara), where he carried every thing before him; reducing Carwar, and all the other principal forts.

But the great and principal expedition was that against the important fortress and port of Mangalore; than which, none of all his acquisitions had been dearer to Hyder during life; as all his sanguine hopes of becoming a formidable naval power were there centred. Indeed his industry and perseverance in that respect would, in any other person, be considered as amazing. And notwithstanding the heavy losses which he had repeatedly sustained at sea from the English, and notwithstanding the numberless cares and dangers in which he had been involved by the present war, yet his attention to this point was so unremitting, that the rudiments of a navy, it might be said in despite of fortune, were now rising into form at Mangalore; where three ships of the line, from 50 to 60 guns each, were in great forwardness, if not nearly finished, and several others, of different sizes, and in different states, upon the stocks.

Two battalions of sepoy's were first ordered from the Bednore country to invest Mangalore; which does not seem to have been much better garrisoned than other places lately subdued. The town was taken without much resistance; though the only account we have of it states, that a mine was sprung which blew up 80 sepoy's; that they notwithstanding carried it sword in hand, though every street was mined and stockaded.

The killedar, or governor, with his *rabble* as the account calls them, fled into the fort; and that being of some strength, they were obliged to wait the arrival of general Mathews, with artillery, and the greater part of his army, to carry on the siege. The fort made no long resistance; a breach nearly practicable being made in 36 hours after the batteries were opened, the governor surrendered (March 9th, 1783) upon conditions, the security of person, and of private property, being the principal. The English were now nearly, if not entirely, in possession of all the strong holds on the Malabar coast; acquisitions which might have been of the greatest importance, if things had been in a happier train.

But Tippoo Saib, now called Tippoo Sultan, determined to relinquish all other objects and pursuits, for the recovery of those very valuable as well as favourite possessions, which he had lost in the Bednore country, and which he could not but expect to be lost on the Malabar coast. He seems, however, to have hesitated much upon the question of relinquishing the Carnatic; for it was approaching to the middle of March before his troops began to file off from that country through the Changamah Pass; and he seemed unwillingly himself to evacuate Arcot and bring up the rear; so that it was evident, that nothing less than the absolute necessity which prevailed, could urge him to the adoption of that measure.

Thus, whatever faults or errors appeared in the conduct of this expedition, and however fatal its conclusion to the actors, the great object of the invasion on the Malabar side, which was to oblige the enemy to withdraw his forces from the Carnatic, was more fully and completely attained than it could even have been hoped for.

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The conduct of the general upon this approaching danger, seems to have been so incomprehensible, as to be equalled only in that respect by his letters to Bombay, which now became frequent. Indeed it may well be supposed from the whole, that his mind was at this period in some strange state of disorder. His intelligence, if it may be called such, was not only so defective, but so incoherent and contradictory, that, in the manner he states it, it carries more the appearance of a succession of dreams, than of any regular or rational chain of information. He was, however, consistent in all his letters in pressing for a reinforcement; but he at the same time talked with as much confidence and carelessness of meeting the enemy in the field with that handful of men he commanded, as if the armies had been something nearly upon an equality.

One of these letters is dated at Mangalore on the 20th of March, when he was, he said, to set out on the following day to Bednore to meet the enemy in the field, whom he represents as approaching to that place, and estimates at 25,000; and, if there is no error in the copy we have seen as to the number, he talks of collecting 12,000 sepoy, along with his Europeans, to encounter them; although the troops of all sorts then on the coast, or in the Bednore country, dispersed even as they were, could scarcely amount to half that number. He is, however, a week after at Cundapore, whence he dates his next letter, the intelligence of the enemy being as vague as could be; excepting, that they are now represented as being within 35 miles of Bednore; and he concludes by observing, that, without a reinforcement, it will be next to a miracle if he can keep his footing. His last letter was dated at Bednore on the first of April. The enemy were then represented as being at 45 miles distance; but it was discovered that Tippoo Saib commanded them in person.

The line of conduct necessarily to be pursued by the general in this emergency seems so obvious, that nothing less than some strong infatuation on his side, together with the absence of the principal officers, could prevent its being adopted. He should undoubtedly, at the time

that he despatched his first letter from Mangalore, or as much sooner as he had any certain intelligence of the enemy's approach, have withdrawn his troops and artillery entirely out of the open Bednore country; and posted them in the Gauts, which were already fortified, and deemed impregnable. He should have defended these passes into the Malabar country to the utmost; and if they had been at length found no longer tenable, he could have retired to the strong posts on the coast, which the enemy were in little condition for besieging; and where he would have been, at all events, open to succour from the sea. By this means, even the dearly purchased treasures might have been saved; and all the subsequent calamities would have been evaded.

Tippoo Sultan appeared in sight, at the head of a prodigious army, in the beginning of April, and probably in three or four days after the writing of the general's letter from Bednore. His forces were so numerous, that they not only filled the plains near the city, but covered the hills to a greater distance than the eye could reach. The most moderate estimate states them at more than a hundred thousand men. General Mathews's European force consisted of detachments from the 98th, 100th, and 102d royal regiments, and of some Bombay infantry, amounting in the whole to something about 600 men; and he had with these some thin battalions of brave and excellent sepoys, amounting to about 1600.

If several accounts from the unfortunate survivors had not concurred in the relation, it would have been difficult to believe or to relate, that with this diminutive handful of men, the general marched out of Bednore, to encounter, in the open field, so prodigious a force. The enemy were led in the attack by a French detachment; and about five hundred of his men having fallen in a few minutes, he then retreated to the forts, abandoning the city altogether.

Tippoo Sultan instantly enclosed the fort, and the whole hill upon which it stood, in the strictest manner; and bringing up heavy artillery with the utmost expedition, surrounded the former on every side with batteries.

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In the mean time, to prevent all possibility of their rescue or escape (though neither were in fact to be apprehended), he sent a detachment to attack the two Gauts; which, though they were not nearly so effectually garrisoned as their strength and great importance deserved, were yet shamefully lost, through the bad conduct of one or both of their commanders. Thus all communication with the lower country and sea-coast was cut off.

That ill fortune, which is the proper effect of ill conduct, and which generally pursues it closely, now began every-where to appear. The fugitives that escaped from the Gauts, communicated their own confusion and terror so effectually to the garrison of Cundapore, that they were instantly seized with an equal panic; so that, without the appearance of an enemy, nothing but flight and escape were thought of. The precipitation and confusion under the impulse of this blind fear were so great, that a number of men and horses were drowned in the flight. Large magazines of stores and provisions, which had been deposited in that place, were set on fire and consumed in this unaccountable disorder; and a large field of artillery was either disabled, or left to whatever enemy should arrive without being injured.

Cundapore, with its valuable provision for war, being thus shamefully abandoned or destroyed, a part of the fugitive garrison took refuge at Onore; where it required all the firmness and prudence of captain Torriano to preserve the troops from being infected with their panic. Having however succeeded in confirming his own garrison, and restoring the fugitives in some degree to their senses, he made a spirited exertion to recover the artillery, which they had abandoned at Cundapore. But the enemy, pursuing their success, had by this time fallen into the low country, and were not only before-hand with him, but he hardly escaped paying an undeserved penalty for the attempt.

After seventeen days hopeless defence, the unfortunate garrison of the fortress of Bednore, being greatly reduced in strength, their sick and wounded exceeding 500,

besides the great number slain, and the fire of the enemy greatly superior, they were reduced to the necessity of capitulating. After some difficulties, they were allowed the honours of war, but to pile their arms on the glacis; they were to retain all private property, and to restore all public; and they were to be conducted to a specified port, and thence conveyed to Bombay; being properly supplied with provisions both on the road and in the passage: The general to be allowed a guard of 100 of his own sepoys, with their arms, and 36 rounds of ammunition.

The lust of avarice seems still to have been predominant, even in this forlorn state of affairs, and under all the dangers to be apprehended from the resentments of a highly enraged victor, and at all times avowedly implacable enemy. For, in order to cover the public money in the fort from the captors, whose property of right and by the conditions it was, the officers were desired to draw upon the paymaster general for whatever sums they chose, to be accounted for in their pay at Bombay, supposing that the money being divided in so many hands, would pass without observation. This opportunity of getting ready money without trouble or delay, was eagerly seized by the officers; and several, to their subsequent great loss, if not present misfortune, drew for large sums, from one to two thousand pagodas apiece.

Through this management, not a single rupee was found by the captors in the fort; and this circumstance, along with the profuseness of the garrison in the purchases which they made at a market provided on their coming out, easily led to a suspicion of the fraud; which the money afterwards found in their possession abundantly confirmed; and thus, a small infraction of the treaty on the side of the weak, afforded (which is not entirely without example) a plea for the total overthrow of all the conditions to the strong. It is not, however, certain that Tippoo Sultan would have considered this plea or pretence, as at all necessary to give a colour to the cruel vengeance which he took; whether he would not have founded it upon past enormities, or whether he would not have

have gratified his indignation and revenge, without regard to appearances or consequences, are questions still to be resolved.

On the 28th of April the troops having marched out of the fortrefs, and piled their arms, were led about a mile from Bednore, where they encamped; being furrounded by some battalions of the nabob's armed sepoys. On the following morning, the general was sent for to meet Tippoo Sultan without the town; but he, and those who accompanied him, after some unknown examination, were put into close confinement, and never returned. In two days after, the field and staff officers, with all the captains, the paymaster, and the commissary, were all sent for and likewise detained. The buchhy, or paymaster, was then sent to the camp, when all the remaining officers were shamefully stripped and searched before him; and the money being found and taken, they were afterwards plundered of every thing; and no measures of humanity were longer observed with them or the troops.

It would be too painful to enter at all minutely into the subsequent sufferings of these ill-fated troops. It will suffice to say, that after suffering every degree of indignity and hardship in the first instance, they were compelled to march sixteen days, under a burning sun, almost naked, but loaded with irons, and driven out without mercy like wild beasts, to a fort in the interior part of the country; where they underwent the most grievous and cruel imprisonment, that any equal number of Englishmen, in the most inhospitable and savage regions of the earth, had ever experienced.

Though it is known that the general suffered a violent death, the manner of it is not certain; some accounts stating that melted lead was poured down his throat; others, that scalding oil was thrown over his body; and a third, which seems more probable, that he was compelled to swallow the poisonous milk or juice of a shrub, by which he died in great agonies. Several of the principal officers are likewise said to have been barbarously murdered.

We are in the dark as to the amount and final disposition of the treasures found at Bednore. They were undoubtedly very great; and it seems probable, that they were mostly, if not entirely, recovered by the conqueror. One private account, to which the officer's name is signed who wrote it, states, that the general got possession, exclusive of what Hyat Saib claimed, of thirty lacks of pagodas (amounting at least to 1,200,000l.), besides a great quantity of diamonds and other precious stones; all which he says he secreted, and sent by his brother to Bombay: That his brother soon after fell into the hands of the nabob, who beheaded him; that the army was yet uninformed whether the treasure had arrived at Bombay: And that, by calculation, it was a loss of 25,000 rupees to each subaltern officer.

The sum here stated seems, however, too vast to have been secreted and conveyed in such a manner.

Another officer, who says he was secretary to the general, and had free access to the rooms at the palace in which the treasure was deposited, and was even appointed to count parts of it, describes it as immense; and, besides heaps of unvalued riches, such as jewels, and massy gold and silver furniture, estimates the money at 48 lacks of pagodas. He farther says, "A great part of this money belonged to the officers, and there was a great stir about it; but the general kept it secure a long time, and what became of it I know not! If we had justice done us, and the money divided out to us, it would have been about 3,000l. a subaltern."—Both the letters were written since the release of the officers from the long and grievous imprisonment we have mentioned.

Such was the issue of this unfortunate expedition, and the fate of a most gallant body of troops, who seem to have been devoted, by a continued series of misconduct, to destruction. Though it be an anticipation in point of time, yet, as the occasion may not offer again, we should think it unpardonable not to give due praise to the unequalled fidelity, constancy, and resolution, with which the sepoy's who were now taken, endured all the calamities

mities and dangers of their long most grievous, and almost hopeless captivity; during which they were equally proof to all the allurements, and to all the terrors held out by the victor; generously to the last refusing, though at the apparent peril of life, to sacrifice their faith and attachments by entering into his service. The affection and tenderness which they showed to their European fellow-soldiers, who were perishing under those common miseries which they were better able to bear, dividing their miserable pittance of food with them, and endeavouring to lessen or to share in all their sufferings, are without example, in such circumstances, and among such a class of men, in any other part of the world. When they were at length permitted to rejoin their officers, who were still labouring under every degree of want and distress, they, with the most rapturous expressions and appearances of joy, offered to present them with such small sums of money, as had either escaped the general pillage, or they had since saved by starving themselves. It may well be hoped, that no European who was a witness to these transactions, or who even hears them recounted, can ever be deficient in mercy or kindness to a Hindoo. Such actions, if any thing could, might serve to cure all local prejudices; and induce all the race of mankind, however different in colour, or remote in place, to consider each other as brethren.

Tippoo Sultan, immediately after the reduction of Bednore, appeared with his vast army before Mangalore; the recovery of which was the next great object of his wishes. The place was well commanded and well garrisoned; but the defences were in no degree worthy of the defenders; so that it required all the abilities of major Campbell, seconded by the well-tried valour of the 42d regiment, and supported by some brave battalions of sepoy, to supply the defects of the fortifications.

But notwithstanding the multitude of the enemy's troops, the handful of French auxiliaries alone gave energy to their attacks; for Hyder's numerous body of native artillery-men, who had cost him so much time and pains in forming, seem, by this time, as well as the rest

of his best troops, to have been entirely exhausted. By their exertions the works were so much ruined, that it seemed as if the garrison would soon be reduced to fight upon equal terms with the besiegers, when an account of the peace between England and France was received in the month of July. Tippoo Sultan was by no means pleased with the conduct of France, in concluding a peace without his concurrence, or, at least, without including him in the treaty; but the positive refusal of the French commander and his troops to act in any manner against the English, or even to continue longer in the camp, was exceedingly ill taken by him; and he is said to have shown, upon this occasion, much want of that command of temper, by which Hyder was eminently distinguished. Sensible of the insufficiency of his own troops to prosecute the siege with effect, and stung to the heart at missing the recovery of a place of so much importance, after having considered it as little less than already in his hands, it is said, that when all means of persuasion failed, he then insisted, that no treaty whatever, in which he was not a party, could release the French troops from their engagements with him, or at all warrant their departure from his army, until the enterprise, which they had undertaken in concert with his own forces, and in which they were now so far advanced, was completed.

We are not certain how far we can rely upon our authorities in this matter; but it is said, that Tippoo Sultan urged this point with such pertinacity, that it was for a time imagined he intended to retain the French troops, and to compel their services by force. And it is farther asserted, that though he did not venture to proceed to so violent an extremity, he however parted with them with an exceeding ill grace, and that much dissatisfaction was evident on both sides.

The siege of Mangalore was then converted to a blockade. A cessation of arms afterwards took place; but the garrison were reduced to the utmost distress through the want of provisions; and it would seem, that though a peace was in agitation, Tippoo used his utmost endeavours to starve them into a surrender; but

But the arrival of general Macleod, with a strong force from Bombay, upon the coast, obliged him, unwillingly, to consent to their receiving a supply. No military event of any consideration afterwards took place on the Malabar coast. Carwar, Onore, and some other forts, as well as Mangalore, still continued in the hands of the English, until, by the peace concluded between the company and Tippoo Sultan, in the following year, a general restitution of the conquests on both sides took place, and the tranquillity of India was, for the present, fully restored.

We are now to take notice of the proceedings on the coast of Coromandel, during these transactions on the opposite side of the peninsula, which will close our account of these long, dangerous, and very extensive wars.

Sir Eyre Coote's ill state of health, which, we have seen, obliged him to quit the field, and to leave the command of the army in the hands of general Stuart, still continuing, and the season of action being likewise over, the hope of benefiting by the voyage, and change of air, with the no less operative motive, of procuring such a supply of money as might enable him to prosecute the war with decisive effect in the ensuing campaign, induced that general to proceed in the Medea frigate, from Madras to Bengal, just previous to the coming on of the monsoon season, and to that dreadful hurricane which desolated the coast in the preceding year.

If the proceedings of public bodies of men were to be at all measured or judged of, by the same lines of action or rules of conduct, which prescribe or influence the transactions of individuals in private affairs, it would appear an extraordinary, if not a very reprehensible circumstance, that this season of the general's absence, and that upon business of the utmost importance to the state, should be seized, by a government which owed its existence to his military abilities and exertions, for the adoption of a measure so exceedingly ungrateful in its nature, as to carry all the appearance of an intended personal slight, if not of a direct and positive affront.

That

That admirable band of selected soldiers, consisting of several companies of the first regiment of Bengal European infantry, who had originally, in the season of distress and danger, accompanied the general by sea to the rescue of the Carnatic, and whose unequalled valour and conduct had contributed so highly, not less in example than in act, to the un hoped for turn of affairs, and the glorious successes of the war, were now, speedily after the general's departure, and without his consent or knowledge, remanded back, the same way by which they came, to their establishment at Calcutta.

The public address of thanks, which the commander in chief dedicated to those brave troops upon their arrival, is in some degree expressive of his sentiments and feelings upon the occasion. This piece (which may be considered as his military testament, and which, along with his own, communicated the royal thanks, just received from England) does equal honour to the parties on both sides concerned; to the general who bestows, and to the troops who merited such signal praise. After such unbounded acknowledgments to both officers and soldiers, as nothing but the warmest gratitude, arising from a fresh sense of great and important service, could inspire, and pointing them out, not only as reflecting particular lustre on the corps to which they belonged, but as patterns of imitation to the army in general, he barely mentions, without any immediate comment on the proceeding, the circumstance of their being sent back by the government of Madras, but then indicates the vexation as well as disappointment to himself, by observing in a plaintive manner, that he had intended, that that chosen band of veterans, who originally undertook the service in the Carnatic along with him, should still have remained there, until they had participated in the honour of gloriously closing a war, in which they had throughout held so active a share, and lamenting, that he should now, upon his return, be deprived of their services on that field.

The commander in chief's health being to all appearance considerably restored, and the season for action approaching,

proaching, he took his departure from Calcutta, bringing with him ten lacks of rupees, on board the Resolution armed ship, belonging to the company; and in a full confidence of bringing the war in the Carnatic to a speedy conclusion. It happened very unfortunately towards the close of the voyage, that they fell in with and were so closely chased by two French ships of the line, that during the greater part, if not the whole, of two days and two nights, the escape of the Resolution seemed little less than impossible. The ruinous consequences of becoming himself a prisoner, and of the loss of the money, which must have included the total overthrow of all his designs and hopes, could not, in so critical a season of public affairs, but deeply affect the general's mind. His anxiety kept him almost constantly on deck during the whole time that the chase continued. It was scarcely then to be expected, that the heat, the fatigue, the night air, and above all, the agitation of mind inseparable from such a situation, should not have severely affected a constitution, and brought on a return of disorders rather palliated than cured, already so much weakened and impaired as his was. Such in reality was the event. The ship and the treasure got safe into Madras; but, to the irreparable loss of the East India company, as well as of his country, the general lived but two days after his arrival, expiring on the 26th of April 1783.

It would be unnecessary to dwell much upon the military character and abilities of this great commander. Independent of the former brilliant actions of his life, the two last years of it afford abundant matter to place both in the most exalted point of view. Whoever reflects upon the deplorable and fallen state of the British affairs on the coast of Coromandel, when sir Eyre Coote arrived at Madras in the year 1780, and considers the very inferior force, consisting only of infantry, with which he maintained so successful and glorious a war, against the greatest commander and the most formidable armies that ever India produced, will be satisfied that a recital of those acts is the highest eulogium that could be offered to his memory, and will not hesitate to acknowledge, that he should hold a conspicuous place among those generals, whose

whose inherent abilities have most eminently supplied the deficiency of force in war.

Sir Edward Hughes, with the fleet from Bombay, arrived at Madras about the same time as the general. It may be an object not only of curious but very necessary inquiry, to endeavour to discover the causes, through which this fleet, that had left Bombay in excellent health and condition, was, in a very moderate space of time, reduced and weakened by sickness, particularly the scurvy, in a most extraordinary degree. The admiral put to sea from Madras to watch the motions of the enemy on the 2d of May; and upon discovering that their fleet was at Trincomalé, it became his object to intercept them on their passage to Cuddalore; or at all events to prevent their junction with the marquis de Bussy at that place, until the operations by land were decided. In this easy cruize, without any circumstance of bad weather, and frequently in sight of land, the scurvy made so rapid a progress, that by the 8th of June, the sick on board the line of battle ships amounted to no less than 1125 men, of whom 605 were in the last stage of the disorder. And though the fleet was then cleared of all that number, who were despatched to the hospital at Madras, yet in the small space of a fortnight, the healthiest ships had from 70 to 90 men apiece, and others double that number, incapable of duty; which, along with the long list of those that died through the whole time, must have reduced the crews in such a degree, as to render them little more than capable of working the ships.

An unfortunate accident at Madras had previously lessened their force, by the loss of ten officers, and 127 of the best seamen in the fleet, who had been all blown up in their endeavours to save the Duke of Athol India-man, which had taken fire in that road. It is observable, that the ships which had arrived in such remarkable good health from England under commodore Bickerton, in the preceding year, suffered much more extremely than any others by this disorder; although it might be supposed, that their crews had time since to become tolerably seasoned to the climate. A circumstance mentioned by the admiral, without any apparent allusion to this subject,

subject, might possibly have contributed to the disorder. He observes, that great delay and disappointment occurred in watering the ships at Madras, through the want of a sufficient number of shore boats, and the high surf on the beach; and that the water of many of the ships was by no means complete when he put to sea. It likewise appears that he afterwards attempted, in vain, to procure a supply of water, both at Porto Novo, and at Tranquebar; and that the scarcity became at length so great, as to affect his operations, and obliged him, at a very critical season, to return to Madras. The cause, however (if we consider this as such), does not seem equal to the effect; and if it was, the scarcity or badness of water was not likely to affect the ships last from England, in a greater degree than any others.

The command of the army continued of course in the hands of general Stuart. The great object of the campaign was the expulsion of the French from the Carnatic; but though they were now left to fight the battle nearly alone, yet they were so strongly fortified in Cuddalore, so abundantly provided with artillery, ammunition, and every provision for war, and their force so considerable, both with respect to quality and number, that as their views for the present were merely defensive, it could not but be a task of great difficulty to dispossess them of that hold, which they had spent so much time and labour to render unassailable.

The marquis de Bussy had lately arrived to take the command, and had brought with him the last division of the forces from the Mauritius. As France had no continental war to occupy her armies in Europe, she had sent some of her best troops and oldest regiments upon this service. We have no particular information as to the amount of their force at this period; and the vicissitudes in that respect are so great and sudden in that part of the world, that no well-founded conclusion can be drawn, from any former statement, of the actual number of troops fit for service at a subsequent given time. It however appears that their European force was very considerable; and was farther strengthened by a body of sepoys,

sepoys, which Tippoo Sultan had left behind to act with them as auxiliaries.

General Stuart, upon the retreat of that prince from the Carnatic, had detached a considerable division of the army, under the colonels Lang and Fullarton, to carry the war into his own dominions, by invading them on the southern quarter. Though these officers had great success, took Dindigul and other considerable places, and that it could not but be highly embarrassing and distressing to the enemy to be so formidably attacked in this distant part, while his hands were fully occupied on the Malabar coast; yet this detraction from the main strength was afterwards so sensibly felt in the prosecution of the principal object, that as the difficulties and services on the side of Cuddalore multiplied, while the army, through the loss of men and the greatness of the duty and fatigue, became less equal to their support, the general found it at length necessary to recal colonel Fullarton, although he had then nearly, if not entirely, subdued the whole Coimbatour country; and seemed in a train of extending his designs still farther.

The month of May was spent in providing and shipping provisions, stores, and most of the bulky articles necessary for the service, on board those vessels which were to attend the army in the course of the expedition. As we have seen no plan, nor particular description of Cuddalore, we can only form our ideas of the state of that place, and of the nature of the approaches and defences, from the circumstances which occur in the siege. It seems to be surrounded on two sides, at least, by the sea; and the interval, or neck, as it is called (though rather too open to the continent to be properly considered as an isthmus), is composed of very unequal and difficult ground; being incumbered with rocky hills, and interrupted by a large tank or pond. To the south, it is covered by a very thick and deep wood; than which nothing can be deemed a better natural defence in India; for as the hardness of the timber trees renders the cutting of them in a great measure impracticable, so the innumerable bamboos which fill up the interstices, are proof to fire through their

their extreme succulence. The French accordingly, relying upon that security, were satisfied to fortify those parts of the neck which lay open to the country; and these they covered with strong lines and redoubts well mounted with artillery.

It was then with astonishment that on the 7th of June they beheld general Stuart marching round the open ground in the face of the works, and encamping on the south side under the cover of that wood, which they regarded as their own security, and as impenetrable, at least to the passage of artillery, and the regular approaches of an army. But though his operations were, by this manœuvre, out of view, they soon perceived that he was successfully directing them to obviate the difficulties of the wood; and upon this discovery, they immediately applied themselves with extraordinary labour and industry, to supply the failure of that defence, by continuing the chain of works quite across the neck.

The British general observing the wonderful facility with which new and mighty works were rising fast into view, and seeing that the approaches would soon be covered in such a manner as to render the body of the place unassailable, thought it better, notwithstanding the great force of the enemy, to endeavour by a bold attack to prevent their completion, than to wait the tedious result of regular approaches for their future salvation.

Relying upon the goodness of his troops, he accordingly took his measures for this purpose. The greater part of the first line, under the conduct of general Bruce, were destined to the attack; who took their ground silently on the preceding evening about half a mile in front of the camp. They were composed of the *precious* remains, as the general repeatedly called them, of the 73d, and of the 78th and 101st royal regiments; of detachments from the 15th and 16th Hanoverians, amounting to 600 men, under the conduct of colonel Wangenheim, and major Varrenius; of a handful of the Madras Europeans, amounting only to about 80; and of some battalions both of Bengal and Madras sepoy. The European grenadiers, amounting with their officers to 360, formed

a distinct corps, under lieutenant-colonel Cathcart. The whole number of the Europeans was about 1600.

The attack was successfully commenced early in the morning on the left, by lieutenant-colonel Kelly, who having carried the enemy's works and batteries on the Bandipollum hills, continued to direct their own fire against them from thence, with great effect, through the course of the day. Colonel Cathcart with the grenadiers, supported by colonel Stuart with the remains of the 73d, under captain Lamont, and two battalions of sepoy, attempted, under cover of the guns just taken by Kelly, to turn the enemy's right, and particularly to take a strong redoubt, by which they were extremely galled in the advance; but the ground was so difficult, and the fire so heavy, that colonel Stuart found it necessary to cover the troops in the best manner he could, until he could communicate their situation to the general; with a view that a diversion might be made, by attacks being directed from other quarters to that point at the same instant.

The reserve accordingly, under colonel Gordon, consisting of the 101st, of the Hanoverians, and of five companies of sepoy, were ordered up to support Stuart's corps, while general Bruce made a movement from the right, in the direction of the redoubt. As this was the grand point of attack and defence, on which the fortune of the day entirely depended, and where the utmost exertions of valour were displayed on both sides, the troops being so admirably matched in point of goodness, that some advantage of ground or chance, seemed almost necessary to afford a superiority to either over the other, we shall be the more particular in our account of this exceedingly hard fought and bloody action.

As the fire of the artillery had not been able during the morning to produce any effect upon the enemy's works, an attempt to carry them by storm became the last resort. As soon then as the advancing troops were able to close upon the enemy with their musquetry, the firing of the artillery ceased, and the guns were laid under cover. The reserve, with Stuart's corps and the grenadiers, endured
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in their approach, the heaviest fire of musquetry, round and grape shot, from the enemy, that, the general says, he had ever beheld. They notwithstanding advanced in the most admirable order to the works, where they forced their way into the entrenchments, and mingled in close and mortal combat with the enemy. But the French troops received them most valiantly, sustaining this fierce attack with wonderful firmness; and their strength and spirits being continually renewed by supplies of fresh men, after a long and bloody contest, in which a number of gallant officers fell on both sides, the assailants were repulsed; and the enemy, unable to restrain their ardour, sallied out of their works and pushed the reserve, still desperately fighting, down the declivity, towards the level ground. This success, and the change of position it occasioned, produced an effect, unthought of by the enemy in the eagerness of their pursuit; for the grenadiers, with the other troops of Stuart's division, had in the mean time turned the works, and gained possession of that strong post which had been the object of so much bloody contention; and not contented with this service, having effectually secured the redoubts and works there, they pushed on immediately to another strong post called Brickmyre's, considerably nearer the town, which they likewise carried, with its artillery, and were some time in possession of; but the great force of the enemy being there at hand, they poured in such a number of fresh troops upon them, that they were obliged to abandon Brickmyre's. In the mean time, the reserve having rallied, repulsed and pursued the enemy; who now perceiving the loss of their posts, were obliged to take a circuitous course to gain the fortress; upon which a spirited attempt was made by general Bruce to cut off their retreat; but some of the works enfiladed a hollow way, through which the troops were passing, and poured such incessant showers of grape shot upon them, that the design, after some loss, was of necessity relinquished.

As the works on the Bandipollum hills, and those now taken, commanded or enfiladed the whole extent of the neck, and laid the way open for carrying on the approaches

with effect directly to the fortrefs, the general thought it fitting to spare the effusion of blood, and to give some respite to the troops after so severe a service. But such was their ardour, that notwithstanding the heavy loss they had already sustained, they wanted to push on directly in the present heat, to the attack of the remaining works towards the town, though they were sensible of the heavy fire both of small arms and artillery, to which, without cover, they would be exposed in the approach. The general, however, restrained their eagerness, and relying upon his knowledge of the temper of the enemy, judged rightly, that when they had leisure to cool, and time for reflection, they would not retain the remaining out-works, at the hazard of another encounter. His opinion was soon verified; for on the very next morning they abandoned all their posts without the fortrefs.

This brilliant and important success cannot be supposed, from the nature of the action, to have been cheaply purchased; the loss of men, in killed, wounded, and missing, including the native troops, amounting to 962. The royal forces suffered extremely, ten of their officers being killed, thirty wounded, and between four and five hundred of the private men included in the different lists. This was said to be the greatest loss of Europeans, particularly of officers, in proportion to the whole number, that had been yet known in any action in India. Undoubtedly, there never had been one better fought on both sides than the present. The Hanoverians, the grenadiers, and the remains of the 73d, gained distinguished honour on this day; but it was a glory by no means slightly acquired, for their respective loss was severe indeed. Of the first, four officers fell upon the spot, and twelve were wounded; and of their private men, 62 were killed, and 144 wounded; being more than a third of their whole number in the field. Their brave major Varrenius fell, as he was gallantly leading up his men to the attack of the entrenchments, under that terrible fire which we have before mentioned. Captain Lindsay, who commanded the grenadiers of the 73d, was mortally wounded; and refusing to admit the gallant mark
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of affection eagerly proposed by his men, of staying behind to protect, or to perish along with him, he was taken prisoner. The grenadiers under colonel Cathcart, as well as their commander, excited general admiration; but their loss in killed and wounded, including 12 officers, was little short of half their number.

Nor was the loss of the French, making allowance for their cover, and the strength of their works, at all disproportioned to that of the English; 42 of their officers, and above 600 of their best troops, being that day killed or wounded.

On the day after this action, the French fleet arrived from Trincomalé at the Danish settlement of Tranquebar; whence a correspondence taking place between M. de Suffrein and the marquis de Bussy, the latter found himself yet so strong, that he detached 1200 of his troops to reinforce the ships, in the expected encounter with sir Edward Hughes. We have before observed the great reduction of strength that took place in the British fleet, through the extraordinary sickness of the seamen. They were, notwithstanding, at this time cruizing before Cuddalore, to cut off all supplies from the marquis de Bussy; an object, however, to which the situation of the place, with the nature of the coast and winds, and some other circumstances, were by no means favourable. Upon the appearance of the enemy, two or three days were spent in manœuvres on both sides, the British admiral using his utmost efforts to gain the wind, while the enemy were more successful in their exertions to preserve that advantage.

The enemy at length, on the fourth day, showing a disposition to engage, the wind still entirely in their favour, the admiral immediately formed the line of battle a-head, and brought to to receive them. It was a little past four o'clock (June 20th), in the afternoon, when the van ship of the enemy's line, having fired a single gun to try her distance, and although scarcely within point-blank-shot reach, the whole fleet began instantly to fire; which they continued for about twenty minutes, before a single shot was returned by the British line. The distance
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being then considerably lessened, though still far too great for the kind of engagement wished by the English, a heavy cannonade took place, which was continued on both sides, without intermission, until seven o'clock. At that hour the enemy hauled off, having preserved a guarded distance through the whole course of the engagement.

The enemy were out of sight in the morning. On the 22d sir Edward Hughes discovered them at anchor in the road of Pondicherry; where he braved them during the day, and anchored in the evening within their sight. But the want of water was now so extreme, and the number of the sick, now increased by the wounded, so great, that the admiral was under an absolute necessity of proceeding to Madras, in order to land the one, and to secure a supply of the other.

The loss of men on the English side in this action, amounted to 99 killed, and to 431 wounded; a few brave officers were included in both lists; but the captains were for this time *scotfree*. It seems not a little surprising, as we cannot suppose that M. de Suffrein could be ignorant of the sickly weakened condition of the English fleet, that he did not venture to come to close action, and endeavour to render the engagement decisive. It is, however, to be observed, that the English had, for the first time, a superiority of ships and guns in this action; their line of battle consisting of seventeen ships, and that of the French only fifteen. But this apparent superiority, it might be thought, would have been much more than counterbalanced by the weakness of the crews, when the ships came to be singly hard pressed in a close fight. It may at the same time be observed, with respect to the other side, that it indicated no small confidence in their own inherent virtue, that, as upon all former occasions, so, even in their present reduced state, they used every endeavour to bring their enemy to the closest possible action.

This was the fifth and last battle between sir Edward Hughes and M. de Suffrein; and this concluded the severe course of naval warfare between the two nations in India: A war in which infinite valour was displayed on both sides; but in the course of which, several appearances of
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national rancour and animosity which occurred on that of the French admiral, will by no means serve to exalt his character as a philosopher or a man, however high his reputation may be deservedly held, as a bold and brave naval commander.

Upon the departure of the British Squadron to Madras, M. de Suffrein immediately proceeded to Cuddalore, where he not only returned the 1200 land forces which had been lent by the marquis de Bussy, but he landed 2400 of his own men from the fleet, as a most powerful aid to the defence.

During these transactions, general Stuart was carrying on his approaches to attack the body of the fortress; at the same time, that the number of posts he had to maintain, and the very considerable losses he had sustained through action and sickness, could not but greatly reduce his effective force against the town. But the departure of sir Edward Hughes, and the arrival of the enemy's fleet at Cuddalore, multiplied all his difficulties in an extraordinary degree; the posts, and services of every kind, becoming more numerous, and the force of the enemy being greatly increased, at the very time that the army was reduced to its weakest state. The general accordingly could not but impatiently expect the arrival of reinforcements, which he had ordered from Madras, as well as of colonel Fullarton and his detachment from the Coimbatour country.

The enemy, who could not be ignorant of these circumstances, and were confident in their increase of strength, considered this as a most favourable opportunity for deciding the fortune of the siege; or if a vigorous attack did not even produce all the effects that might be hoped, the destruction of the besiegers' works towards the town they held as the smallest benefit that was to be expected. The conduct of the enterprise was committed to the chevalier de Damas, a knight of Malta, and colonel of the regiment of Aquitaine, who led some of the best troops of France in this sally; his detachment being composed, besides his own regiment, and other old entire bodies, of picked men, as volunteers, from all the
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different corps in the place; and to these were added two battalions of sepoys; so that his party was scarcely less considerable with respect to number and force, than to the goodness of the troops.

With this force, the French commander advanced in the dark, and with great silence, to the attack of the trenches, about three o'clock in the morning of the 25th of June. Though it will not be supposed, considering the great strength of the enemy, and the nearness of their fleet administering continual room for apprehension, that the British troops were not in a constant state of preparation, and in expectancy of such an attempt; yet every attack of this nature, in the dark, and at a previously unknown hour, must, in the beginning, necessarily produce some of the effects of a surprise. So upon this occasion, a few of the foremost French, wrapt up in silence and darkness, got into the trenches, and in the blind scramble which for a short time there took place, the falling of the officer who held them, threw the colours of the 24th regiment of Bengal sepoys into their hands, which they immediately sent off in triumph to the town; but that brave battalion convinced them before they parted, that they were well entitled to their colours, and that they must have been dearly purchased by those who had attempted to gain them in open daylight.

As soon as the troops had time to seize their arms, the assailants were opposed with the greatest resolution and firmness; and as the light opened, the troops in the trenches, not contented to maintain their defences, attacked the enemy in turn, and pushed them so hard on every side, that a complete rout took place. The chevalier de Damas, with some other officers, and about 150 of his soldiers, were taken prisoners; and the whole loss of the French in every way, was said to amount to about 400 men. Nothing could exceed the admirable behaviour of the troops, both Europeans and sepoys, in this action. It was held as equally singular and extraordinary, that the 24th battalion of Bengal sepoys, with another belonging to Madras, fought some of the oldest and best troops of France with the bayonet, and foiled them at
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that favourite European weapon, which is supposed to be the most trying test of the firmness and excellency of soldiers. It will probably then afford no small satisfaction to many who read this narrative, to be informed, that the general, in his address of thanks to the army, gave an assurance to those brave sepoys, that he would recommend their distinguished services so effectually to the governments of Bengal and Madras, that they and their families should be ever supported and rewarded according to their merit.

Colonel Gordon, lieutenant-colonel Cathcart, and major Cotgrove, were the three officers who commanded on that morning in the trenches. They all gained the greatest honour by the presence of mind and firmness with which they withstood the surprise, and the gallantry with which they avenged the insult. The brave major, who led the Madras sepoys, was killed at the close of the action. Colonel Cathcart, who had been so highly distinguished in the action of the 13th, seemed as if he had rested his military reputation entirely upon his conduct in the present. The loss was wonderfully small; and the little there was fell principally upon the sepoys.

In two or three days after this sally, the Medea frigate arrived under a flag from Madras at Cuddalore, bringing information from lord Macartney and the admiral, of the conclusion of peace between the two nations; in consequence of which, a mutual cessation of hostilities, and restoration of prisoners, immediately took place.

CHAP. XIX.

The definitive treaties with France, Spain, and America, signed---Retrospective view of the affairs of Europe from the year 1780 till the earthquake in Calabria in 1783---Meeting of the British parliament---Mr. Fox introduces his India bill---Opposed by Mr. Pitt---The bill passes through the commons---Earl Temple's interference---The bill thrown out by the lords upon the second reading---Measures taken by the commons upon this occasion---A change of ministry---Mr. Pitt's administration---Resolutions of the commons for the appointment of ministers who enjoy the confidence of the house---Mr. Pitt's India bill---Debates upon it---Compared with that of Mr. Fox---Mr. Pitt's bill rejected---Mr. Pitt interrogated respecting a dissolution of parliament---Means taken to effect an union of parties---His majesty's refusal to dismiss his ministers---Dissolution of parliament---Character of the last parliament---The event of the general election proves favourable to the new administration---Mr. Fox elected for the city of Westminster.

[A. D. 1783, 1784.]

DURING the parliamentary recess, in the summer of 1783, the king of Great Britain, being legally empowered by an act passed for that purpose, issued an order in council, limiting the commerce between the continent of America and the British West India islands, to ships built in England, Scotland, or Ireland. This was conformable to the grand principle on which the act of navigation was originally founded; and though this restriction gave extreme offence to the inhabitants of the United States, they could not reasonably complain that they were precluded from enjoying the advantages of dependence and independence at the same time. At this period the definitive treaties with France, Spain, and America, were signed without any material alteration; and also the preliminaries of peace with the states general
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of Holland, by which all the conquests of England were restored, except the town of Negapatam on the coast of Coromandel, which their high mightinesses found themselves reluctantly compelled to cede.

The busy scenes in which Great Britain, as a principal, was engaged, have precluded for some time any notice respecting the affairs of those foreign states not immediately involved in hostilities. We shall now, therefore, embrace the opportunity, which an interval of peace affords, to give a short retrospective view of the general affairs of Europe, from the year 1780, till the tremendous earthquake which happened in Calabria in 1783.

While the four great maritime powers of Europe were exhausting their strength and sacrificing their subjects in that war, to which the revolt of the British colonies in America gave rise, and which in its progress spread such desolation through both the Old and the New World, the emperor of Germany was more happily employed, in cultivating the arts of peace, in the improvement of his widely-extended dominions, and in establishing upon sure and permanent foundations the power, and consequently the security, of his empire.

In the laudable pursuit of these objects, he was however not contented with adhering to the beaten track marked out by others, or with waiting the distant effect of slow and progressive schemes of improvement. The fertile and active mind of this prince, embracing at once a multitude of objects, would carry every thing directly to that ultimate point of perfection which it held constantly in view; as if, ruminating on the shortness of human life, he had determined to establish his designs so speedily, as not only, if he should himself be cut off, to place them out of the reach of future contingencies, but to obtain a probability, if he lived, of participating in the benefits he intended for his country. He was accordingly incessantly occupied in framing, adopting, examining, or carrying into execution, numberless projects of regulation and improvement, of less or greater importance, but including some of such magnitude, as went to the
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essential reform of the first departments of the state and government, whether ecclesiastical, civil, or military. This task, sufficiently arduous in itself, was rendered still more difficult by the nature of his dominions, composed as they are of separate kingdoms, and a number of distinct provinces, obtained by different means, and at different periods, subject to their own peculiar forms of government, and still retaining many of their original rights and institutions.

It would have been contrary to all experience, and consequently to human nature itself (of which experience is our only evidence), if such, and so many schemes of reform, militating with popular opinions, national practices, and tending directly to overthrow establishments now venerable by their antiquity, and which had been considered as sacred in their institution, could have been carried into effect, without at least exciting much dissatisfaction and complaint, and without winging the shafts of censure, and giving energy to them, if not to more dangerous weapons. All these effects, except the last, the pursuit of these measures indeed produced: Nor were the terrors of punishment, the dangers of which were multiplied by the great rewards held out for the discovery of offenders, sufficient to prevent the bitterest libels upon the emperor from being circulated even in his capital. But the mischief went no farther; and this prince proceeded for a time in the establishment of his new regulations, with unexampled facility and success.

It is, however, to be remembered, that the Herculean task of reformation requires very peculiar properties and qualities: That the degrees of fervour, zeal, and fertility of design, essentially necessary to constitute a reformer, frequently lead him to overshoot his objects; but that without these, and other corresponding dispositions and propensities, he seldom or never could reach them: That nearly all successful reformers have accordingly erred in the same manner, and fallen into a similar excess. And, with respect to military affairs, it is to be observed, that it is of the very nature of discipline, to produce a tenacious adherence to forms, and of course an animosity to innova-

innovation. To which it may be added, that the dissatisfactions inevitable in all armies, and more particularly in such vast hosts, from the great variety of tempers and characters they include, must throw many impediments in the way of reformation.

A liberal disposition with respect to religious toleration was early to be expected, from the character and general conduct of this prince; and little doubt was accordingly entertained but that it would be freely displayed, whenever the power was lodged solely in his own hands. Other parts of his disposition and policy, particularly with respect to ecclesiastical matters, continued yet unknown and unsuspected, even for some time after the demise of the empress queen. But the years 1781 and 1782 removed the veil that covered his designs in this respect; and it soon became apparent, that the reducing the exorbitant power of the clergy within his own dominions; the severing and emancipating them from all dependance on the court of Rome; with the suppression of the religious orders, and the appropriation of their property, were among the great and determined objects of the emperor's policy.

A considerable extension to the liberty of the press, which had hitherto been much circumscribed in the Austrian dominions, seemed in some degree an opening to succeeding events, and might be considered as throwing some light upon views which were not otherwise revealed. The order or decree for this purpose was all written by the emperor's own hand, and was published early in the year 1781. By one of the articles he allowed a free circulation, without examination or licence, to all those literary reviews of various publications, with which Germany, from the number of its states, of its public schools and universities, and the great differences with respect to religious and political principles or opinions, more particularly abounds than any other country. Even the subject of ecclesiastical history is left open by this article. By another, he permits that all strictures upon the conduct of the throne itself might be published with full security; providing only, that they do not descend to the character
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of pasquinades or absolute libels. Upon this subject he expresses himself with a noble magnanimity—"If there be any thing just in them (he says), we shall profit by them; if not, we shall disregard them."—He likewise permitted the free publication of all political newspapers and pamphlets without exception; and the discussion even of religious subjects is admitted, with only this reservation, that such writings should not attack, in any of their fundamental principles, the three established religions of the empire, being the Roman Catholic, the Lutheran, and the Calvinist.

Though this last clause, which went to the protection of the two reformed religions as well as the catholic, might seem virtually to include a toleration to the protestants within the emperor's own particular dominions, yet the decree for that purpose did not appear until about the close of the year.

The Jewish nation or people, who through a long course of centuries had so often been doomed to lament the caprices or rapacity of monarchs, and to become victims to the revolutions of states, were now among the first to experience the benefit of living under a government, where the prince has sufficient comprehension to discover that his own interests were, in a less or greater degree, inseparably connected with the security and prosperity of every class and order of his subjects. Among other immunities and privileges now granted by the emperor to that people, they were particularly admitted to the right of exercising all kinds of arts and trades, of applying themselves to agriculture, and to the invaluable privilege of freely pursuing their studies in the universities, without any impediment whatever on the score of religion.

This decree in favour of the Jews was soon followed by two unexpected ordinances, which striking directly at the power and authority of the court of Rome, afforded a most alarming presage of what it had farther to apprehend. By the first of these, all the religious orders within the royal and imperial dominions (but confined, we apprehend, to Germany and Hungary), were strictly prohibited

hibited from holding any correspondence, on spiritual or temporal subjects, with their respective chiefs, while these were resident in any foreign parts; and farther prescribing, that under such circumstances, they should be governed entirely by their provincial superiors: Who were, however, to be at all times subject to the control and authority of the episcopal power in the respective dioceses, and even to the temporal governors of provinces. By the other ordinance it was enacted, that no bull, brief, or other instrument, issued by the apostolic see, should be received, or have any effect whatever within the imperial dominions, until it was rendered valid by the sanction of the sovereign.

These decrees were issued at Vienna, in the latter end of March 1781; and it may be easily seen, that the court of Rome could scarcely have received a greater shock. For the residence of the generals or chiefs of the principal religious orders at Rome, was the link, which immediately united their respective communities, however widely dispersed, to the papal chair, and which afforded the means of maintaining a subordination and discipline unexampled in its nature and extent; while that edict, by cutting off the intercourse, must, in its effect, if not entirely dissolve the connexion, at least render it useless with respect to its destined purposes.

Other great political objects, together with a long journey, in consequence of them, which the emperor was then upon the point of undertaking, and in the course of which he visited the Low Countries, Holland, and France, served to draw off his farther immediate attention from ecclesiastical affairs, and afforded time for the court of Rome to recover from its first astonishment; and to deliberate upon and pursue such measures as might possibly mitigate the effects of the late unexpected blow, or at least ward off such evils as were farther to be apprehended.

He had sufficient ostensible motives, if any such were wanting, for undertaking this journey. He had to take personal possession of the Austrian Netherlands; to be

installed in his dukedom of Brabant; to regulate the public affairs at Brussels, preparatory to the arrival of his sister the arch-dutcheß, and her husband, the duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen, on whom the government of these provinces was bestowed on the death of prince Charles of Lorraine, and who were now far advanced in their way thither; to all which may be added, the natural desire of wishing to see his new subjects, and being seen by them; besides the opportunity which this tour would present, of visiting his sister the queen of France, and of seeing parts of that country on his return, which he had not hitherto an opportunity of observing.

But there were other matters, of much greater political moment, which operated upon this prince in undertaking the journey. The ruinous and unfortunate war, into which the prevalence of the French and republican faction in Holland had precipitated that country with its old and natural ally, among its other irreparable ill consequences, was the means of unveiling the nakedness of the republic, and, to the astonishment of all Europe, presented such a view of disorder and imbecility in the government, and of radical weakness in the state, as had not before been suspected, even by its nearest and keenest-eyed neighbours. The impressions made by this discovery were continually increasing, as almost every day of the war was marked with some new circumstance of misfortune or disgrace. While they were thus exposed to danger from without, the state and the public were convulsed and torn to pieces by intestine dissensions, the seeds of which were so numerous, and so deeply laid, as scarcely admitted the hope of any effective remedy. The differences between the prince stadtholder and the states were multiplying so fast, and increasing so much in degree and virulence, as to indicate a speedy and most alarming crisis; while the violence and animosity of the French and Orange factions, which included between them the whole body of the people, and all the departments of government, whether civil or military, by sea or by land, seemed destined to harrow and tear up the very foundations of the republic. Upon the whole, it seemed

seemed clear to all observers, that the restoration of the republic, in any degree, to its former power and splendour, was a circumstance which would not admit of a moment's speculation; and that some considerable revolution was necessary, to preserve the union of its parts.

The resumption of the Dutch barrier was among the first advantages the emperor proposed to draw from the present forlorn state of their affairs. Few are ignorant, that the principal fortresses of the Austrian Netherlands, including several of their most considerable cities, had, ever since the conclusion of the succession war, been deposited in the hands of the Dutch, for the mutual benefit and security of the court of Vienna and themselves; for, at the same time that they formed a powerful barrier to cover the territories of the states, they were to be garrisoned and defended by them; and thus served to obviate the dangers apprehended by both from the power and ambition of France.

He, besides, thought it derogatory to his own honour, as well as to the dignity and power of the empire, that a number of his principal cities and fortresses should be garrisoned, and at his own expense too, by foreigners. He considered it as no less than paying a shameful and ignominious tribute for protection and defence; and that it would be in the last degree personally degrading to himself, if now, when the occasion so opportunely offered, he should suffer such a standing monument of past weakness, dependance, or even obligation, any longer to continue.

Nor were several colourable arguments wanting, to justify to the Dutch, and to the world at large, the intended measure of taking the barrier into his own hands, and of dismantling the fortresses. It was stated, that the revenues drawn from these cities and their districts were misapplied; that the fortifications were falling to decay, and the garrisons defective; and that the shameful manner in which they were lost by the Dutch, in the war of 1741, was a sufficient evidence of their incapacity to maintain and defend the barrier. But that, independent of all complaints with respect to the discharge of their trust,

trust, the circumstances of things, and the state of affairs on all sides, were now so entirely altered, that none of the causes or motives, which originally operated to the establishment of the barrier, were any longer in existence: That France, instead of being the common enemy, as then, was now the common friend of both parties; that her ambition was no longer dangerous, and if it were, was directed to other objects; that the emperor and she were mutually bound, in the strictest and dearest ties of alliance, friendship, and blood; and, even admitting the possibility of any change in this state of connexions, his territories would at all times be an effectual barrier to Holland, and would afford much greater security to them by being in his hands than in their own.

Much was, however, to be said on the other side. The immense expense, in blood and in treasure, which Holland, through a long course of successive wars, had endured, for the attainment, the establishment, and the preservation of this very barrier, was known to all the world. Nor was it to be forgotten, that the emperor owed to the extraordinary exertions of Great Britain and Holland his now holding any territory or possession whatever in the Low Countries: That they had the principal share, through a long war, and a series of the most glorious successes, in wresting by piece-meal from the house of Bourbon, these provinces, thick sown as they then were with the strongest fortresses in the world, and defended by those numerous and veteran armies which had so long been the terror of Europe: That as they were the great leaders in the war, so they compelled France and Spain, by the peace, to submit to the transfer of the Netherlands to the German line of the house of Austria; and had since been the means of securing and preserving them to that family: That the settlement of the barrier was the only return to Holland for all these services, and for the immense expenses she had been at, not only in that part of the war, but in her arduous endeavours to place the ancestor of the present emperor upon the throne of Spain. That the proposed measure, besides being a direct breach of treaty, and violation of faith, would

would be a shameful dereliction of every sense of past service and obligation; and that the season chosen for its accomplishment, under the present embarrassed and depressed state of the republic, would render it still more disgraceful.

Much more might have been said; but arguments are of little avail, and treaties weak obligations, any longer than the equal strength, or mutual convenience of the parties, shall give weight to the one, or validity to the other. Great Britain, the guardian of the barrier, was now (unfortunately for both) an enemy to Holland.

The business of the barrier was not, however, the only considerable object which the emperor had at this time in view, and which drew his attention so much to the affairs of the Netherlands. The rupture between the maritime powers had been the means of transferring from Holland to the Austrian Netherlands the course of that vast commerce, which, through the medium of the canals and great German rivers, England carried on with that and other Eastern and Northern continental countries. The benefits which the Netherlands derived from this transit of so great a commerce, were still farther increased by the peculiar circumstances of the naval war in which Great Britain was involved. Attacked, at once, in every part of the world, and nearly overwhelmed by the multitude of her enemies, she was under a necessity of abandoning, in a great measure, the protection of her home commerce, and even, at times, the sovereignty of her own seas, in order that her foreign fleets might be sufficiently powerful to cover her very numerous distant possessions. This new and untoward state of things, reduced the English merchants to difficulties and distresses, with respect to the means of carrying on their trade, which they had never experienced in any other war. Foreign vessels were used for the conveyance of their goods; and the protection of foreign flags, for the first time, sought by Englishmen. In a word, no shift that ingenuity could devise was left untried, in order to evade the peril of the seas.

Upon his arrival at Ostend, in the beginning of June 1781, the emperor showed every mark of the greatest possible attention to the people and place, and every degree of favour and regard to the merchants. He summoned a committee of those who were esteemed among the principal, and the best informed of the latter. Of these were some English gentlemen of high consideration for their mercantile knowledge and abilities; and after holding a conference with them, he desired their separate opinions in writing, as to the best means which could be devised and adopted for the improvement, enlargement, and benefit of commerce, not only with respect to that port in particular, but to the Low Countries in general.

Every moment of the emperor's short residence at Ostend was distinguished by particular favours and benefits; nor were these discontinued during his stay in the Netherlands. He declared their port to be free: And in order to supply the defect of nature, by enlarging their accommodation for shipping, he gave directions for the construction of a considerable basin, at his own expense. To render these favours more complete, and to gratify the wants or wishes of the inhabitants in every respect, as the situation of Ostend, in a deep morass, cramped them no less on the land side for room to answer the purposes of building, than they were on the other, through the narrowness of their harbour, for those of trade, the emperor determined to obviate that difficulty likewise. He accordingly granted them liberty to cover the old ramparts and works of the town with buildings; which afforded an enlargement sufficient, at least, to supply their present wants.---At the same time, his encouragement to foreign settlers, in the commercial line, was highly munificent and liberal. He allowed the free exercise of their religion, and places of public worship, to the protestants of all denominations at Ostend. He invited people of all countries and persuasions thither to settle, to erect warehouses, and to carry on merchandize. He granted them the land on which they built in perpetuity, subject only to a nominal small rent, as an acknowledgment that it was held from him. The erection of several
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new streets, and a square, was accordingly carried on with great rapidity; the hurry of building interfered with that of commerce, and crowds of people thronged in from every quarter.

Short though the stay was which this prince made in the Low Countries, it was sufficient to excite the admiration, and, in the highest degree, to acquire the affection of his subjects. The free audience without state, difficulty in the approach, guards, or witnesses, which he afforded to all manner of persons who desired it, gained, equally the hearts of those who applied, and of all who heard of their reception; while the patience with which he heard, examined, and sifted into, their often tedious complaints and involved relations, was no less astonishing than his affability was captivating to the people.

It did not escape observation, either in Holland or Flanders, that when this prince was at Antwerp, he went down the Schelde in a boat, as far as to the first of those Dutch forts, which have been erected to guard the passage, and to secure to the states the exclusive navigation of that river; that he had the depth of the channel taken in several places; and that he strictly examined all those obstructions of art and nature which tended to impede its navigation, and to shut up the port of that city. From thence he passed into Holland, and among other places particularly visited Rotterdam.

An opinion had for some time prevailed with several persons in England, that means might have been successfully used for renewing the ancient ties of friendship with the house of Austria, and for drawing this prince into such a systematic league of alliance (founded as well upon general political principles, as upon immediate and mutual interests, and calculated to extend to future contingencies) as might be sufficient effectually to counteract that most dangerous combination of the house of Bourbon, supported by Holland and America; which, though confined in its direct object to the ruin or total annihilation of the British empire, would, if successful in that, prove no less dangerous to the rest of Europe. The near approach of the emperor, at this time, to England,

land, along with the particular favour which he showed to the English, induced the warm partizans of this notion to imagine, that it was among the principal objects of his journey: But when the duke of Gloucester was seen to depart suddenly for Ostend, in order to visit this prince, that, and the long conference which took place between them at Bruges, occasioned numbers, who had paid but little regard to the original opinion, to imagine, that something of that nature was now really in agitation. The event, however, did not justify any of these expectations; and, as no fruits of the conference have appeared, and that the duke of Gloucester returned immediately afterwards to England, it may well be supposed, that the meeting between these princes was merely a matter of personal attention and courtesy. It was, indeed, not the least among the many misfortunes which, through that period, hung so heavily over England, that her government, whether it proceeded from an overweening confidence in native strength, or from whatever other fatal error of policy, seemed for several years to have totally turned its back upon the rest of Europe; and, losing the due national weight and influence in the general political system, most unaccountably neglected all useful friendships, connexions, and alliances.

The emperor did not return to Vienna until about the middle of August 1781. He soon after resumed his ecclesiastical reforms; but as that year and the following were likewise the great season for civil regulation, we shall, before we enter upon that subject, bring together, in one point of view, such of those measures as tended most to the benefit of different classes, orders, or communities of the people, or were remarkable for their liberality and munificence.

This prince had the high satisfaction, within a very few months after it had taken place, of perceiving the happy result of one of his measures, that of religious toleration and indulgence to the protestants in his dominions. The elector of Saxony, struck with so illustrious an example, and that protestantism might not be outdone
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in liberality, about the middle of the summer of 1782 issued an ordinance, by which he not only granted to the Roman catholics throughout the electorate the free exercise of their religion, but admitted them to the purchasing of houses in the towns and cities, to a right of acquiring the freedom of commercial and manufacturing companies, and to several other valuable privileges, from all which they had hitherto been excluded on account of their religion. Such an opening to the removal of bigotry and prejudice, and to the establishing of mutual forbearance and brotherly love between christians of all denominations, was a blessing, which, within a very few years, it would have been deemed too sanguine to hope could, at least within our times, have been brought to maturity. It is remarkable, that the representatives of the two great houses, one of which was the powerful oppugner and persecutor, and the other the supporter and defender, of the reformation in Germany, should themselves have set this laudable example. The same liberal disposition with respect to religious affairs appeared likewise in Italy, where the grand duke of Tuscany, about the same time, entirely abolished the inquisition in his dominions.

As the emperor had before shown his regard to the interests of literature, by enlarging the liberties of the press, so, in the year 1782, he entered upon some reform of the universities: We are not informed of the particulars. It however appears, that he reduced their number to seven; and that he placed that of Loyburg upon the same footing with the protestant university of Gottingen in Hanover; the members of it being not only permitted to think and debate freely upon all subjects, but to publish their opinions to all the world.

However that may be, ideas and schemes of commerce were now so prevalent, that early in the summer of 1782, the emperor lent four millions of florins to the merchants of Trieste, for the increase (as it is magnificently expressed) of their commerce, not only in Asia, but in Africa, and also in America; accompanied with a promise of all future succour and protection which their circumstances

cumstances might appear to require. A new company of merchants was soon after formed, who, it is said, commenced their enterprizes with a capital of two millions of florins. The spirit of adventure was rapidly increasing. New ports were eagerly sought for on the neighbouring coasts of Morlachia and Istria, and dock-yards were built, and the keels of large vessels laid at one of them. A scheme was likewise adopted, of purchasing fat oxen in Hungary, and salting them at Fiume, which was said to have answered admirably.

No regular detail has been published of the measures pursued by the emperor, towards the close of 1781, and the commencement of the following year, with respect to the suppression of monasteries, and the reform of the ecclesiastics in general; for, notwithstanding the extension of liberty granted to the press in other respects, it seems either to have been cautiously restrained on this occasion, or that the directors of that powerful engine thought it prudent to lay the restraint on themselves. Perhaps the virulent libels which were circulated on the subject, and the authors of which could not be reached, either by the dread of power, or the temptation of gold, might have occasioned this restraint on the one side, or continence on the other. However that was, it is certain that the emperor afterwards afforded opportunities of ridicule to his enemies, which they by no means overlooked, by contrasting with the boasted liberality of his edict in favour of the press, those severe restrictions and heavy penalties, with which, in certain cases, it was afterwards shackled.

We find, however, by letters from Vienna, dated early in the year 1782, that the business of reform in Germany was then far advanced. One of these letters, dated on the 2d of February, states, that the imperial decree, relative to the suppression of the religious orders, had been carried into execution in Bohemia and Moravia, without any *consequences*; and that the money arising from the confiscation of their effects would be applied to public purposes. Information of a week later stated, that twenty-four Carthusian monasteries had been already
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suppressed in the Austrian hereditary countries, exclusive of the kingdom of Hungary. Another estimate, dated before the end of the month, without mentioning whether Hungary is included, states the number of religious houses then suppressed at fifty-five. The suppression was not, however, general, being restricted to those orders whose members, being charged with indulging themselves in an idle and contemplative life, were considered as being of no real use to society; while, on the other hand, protection and encouragement was afforded to those institutions, which had for their object the education of youth. The monks and nuns of the suppressed orders were absolved from their vows, and some provision was made for their maintenance.

Previous to this period, and before the close of the preceding year, an edict had been published at Brussels, by which all the religious houses in the Austrian Netherlands, of whatever denomination, were discharged and exempted from every degree of foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This was followed by an imperial rescript, which was circulated throughout all his dominions, stating the reasons and principles which induced him to shake off the papal yoke; and totally disclaiming all subordination whatever, in secular affairs, to the holy see.

Nor were the mountains of the Alps, nor the vicinity of the once formidable thunders of the Vatican, sufficient to secure the ecclesiastical orders in the dutchy of Milan from experiencing the fate of their German and Hungarian brethren. Two edicts were published at Milan in the beginning of the year 1782, for the suppression of all those orders in that dutchy, which were under the circumstances we have before recited, decreeing their estates to be sold by public auction, and their value, excepting only the stipends allotted to the maintenance for the late possessors, to be applied to the exigencies of the state.

These measures excited the greatest alarm at the court of Rome. Council was held upon council, and congregation upon congregation at the Vatican, while nothing was decided or proposed, which seemed in any degree capable of resisting, or even mitigating the evil.

In this state of present distress, and apprehension for the future, the sovereign pontiff, Pius the Sixth, notwithstanding his great age, his infirmities, the badness of the roads, the length of the journey, and the extreme severity of the season, determined upon going to Vienna, and conferring personally upon the subjects of grievance or complaint with the emperor. It was in vain that his friends represented, and remonstrated with him, upon the difficulties and dangers attending such a journey, in his state of health, time of life, and at such a season of the year; he resolutely answered, that no obstacles or perils should deter him from the discharge of his duty; that, whatever he suffered in the attempt, or, if he was doomed to perish in the execution, it would be no more than what he was bound to endure; that the event lay with God, but the fulfilling of his duty, so far as he was capable of doing it, with himself; and he continued inflexibly to adhere to his determination.

This was about the close of the year 1781, and the pope having communicated his design through the nuncio at Vienna to the emperor, entered at the same time into the gentlest possible expostulation with him upon the measures which he was pursuing. He reminded him that Benedict the Fourteenth had been his god-father; he recalled to memory the piety of his mother, and the constant regard of his family to the church; he requested and entreated, that he would not strip the apostolic see of those rights which it had possessed from time immemorial; he stated, that the object of his journey was to converse in the most amicable manner with him, upon the subject of some late innovations which had taken place, relative to religious matters; and to endeavour to prevail with him not to invade the rights of the church, or to diminish the pontifical prerogatives, neither of which could be done, without deeply injuring the interests of religion itself.

Under these, or other impressions or ideas, Pius the Sixth, the Roman pontiff, set out on his journey from Rome, within two days of the end of February, and arrived at Vienna on the 22d of March 1782. The emperor,

peror, accompanied by his brother, the archduke Maximilian, went to meet the holy father at Neukirken, and conducted him in his own coach to Vienna. Every possible mark of honour and respect was paid to him by that city and court at his arrival. *Te Deum* was performed before the whole court, as a thanksgiving for that event, the host being publicly exposed during the time. A similar course of honour and respect continued to be paid to him during the whole time of his stay in Vienna; and the very guarded and strict precautions used by the police, were not sufficient to prevent several legs and arms from being broken, through the eagerness of the people to receive his benediction, on his way to and from church on Easter-day.

But these were mere outward forms, which could have no connexion with the interior operations of the cabinet; and though frequent conferences took place between the emperor and pope, at the conclusion of which marks of the greatest mutual satisfaction were always thought apparent; yet the event has fully shown, that the latter did not gain any one material object of his wishes.

It was said, that in one of these conferences, the pope delivered his sentiments to the powerful sovereign whom he was addressing in terms to the following effect:—"I have neither the power nor the will to defend by force those rights which the sovereign pontiffs, my predecessors, formerly enjoyed. I am far also from pretending to oppose the execution of those ordinances, which the wisdom of sovereigns might find it necessary to prescribe, for the security of government, or the benefit of their subjects. All I shall desire and expect in return, is, that these potentates should equally respect those hitherto undisputed immunities, prerogatives, and rights, which, without interfering with the rights of others, have through so many ages appertained to the holy see. What I therefore wish, and, in order to prevent the total degradation of the pontifical dignity will be found absolutely necessary, is, that a congress of ambassadors from all the catholic powers in Europe should be held, and that they should determine upon, and irrevocably fix, such parts of the

ancient rights belonging to the holy see, as their sovereigns were still willing to continue in the hands of the pope."—Such was the language now held by the fallen representative of that mighty power, which through a long course of ages had held the western world under a sway, unexampled "in its nature, rise, duration, and extent."

The visit to Vienna occasioned no intermission whatever of the emperor's proceedings with respect to his ecclesiastical reforms; which were extended to the secular clergy and hierarchy, as well as to the religious orders, or regulars. A commission was established for the administration of the sequestered estates and effects, which were so considerable, that the most moderate calculators supposed that the emperor would gain four or five millions sterling by the reform; while other, and probably less accurate estimates, went to double that sum. Annual stipends were allotted for the maintenance of the reformed prelates, abbots, abbesses, canons, canonesses, monks, and nuns; which were, in some degree, proportioned to their respective rank or condition; but it was heavily complained that the portions were so scantily measured, as to be shamefully inadequate to the purpose.

Notwithstanding the treaty of pacification so lately concluded, differences again ran high, so early as the commencement of the year 1781, between the Porte and the court of Petersburgh, upon the subject of admitting Russian consuls in three provinces; the former indeed wished rather to evade, than absolutely to refuse a compliance; and is said to have descended so far as to write to count Panin, requesting that his court would not insist on a measure, which was so exceedingly irksome to the grand signior himself, as well as to the divan. This solicitation did not produce the desired effect; and M. de Stachief, the Russian minister at the Porte, still continued to insist that that business should be immediately settled; observing that his court made no new claims, that they only demanded a compliance with a positive article of the late treaty, and with respect to that they would not relax a tittle.

The death of the grand vizir, in the month of February 1781, afforded an opportunity to the captain bashaw of successfully urging his great influence with the emperor, in procuring Ysed Mehemet, the governor of Erzerum, whom he knew to be a man of ability, to be appointed his successor. As it was about two months before the new grand vizir could arrive to take possession of his office, it was filled up by the captain bashaw in the interim.

After long disputes, many peremptory demands, and some haughty answers, which seemed to indicate another termination, the Turkish ministers, more from a sense of the inability of the state for war, than from pacific dispositions, found it necessary, towards the close of the year 1781, not only to give up the point of debate, with respect to the consuls, but to submit to the degrading concession of sacrificing the Reis Effendi, who is the minister for foreign affairs, and on whom it was now thought proper to charge all past difficulties, as well as those spirited replies which had given so much offence to Russia. He being accordingly deposed, a formal diploma was passed, acknowledging and receiving Mr. Laskaroff as consul general of Russia, with liberty of residing (which had before been a matter of much debate) at Bucharest, Jassy, or whatever other part of the three provinces he might think it necessary.

This concession, however mortifying, produced but a short-lived effect. New troubles were continually breaking forth on the side of the Crimea, and the two courts of Constantinople and Petersburg were as constantly embroiled in their consequences. Sabin Guerai, the khan who had been placed over the Tartars of that peninsula by the power and influence of Russia, whether through defect of spirit, or excess of gratitude, made a more ostentatious display of his attachment, and even vassalage, than was suited either to his character as khan, or to that of the people whom he pretended to govern; nor was it entirely consistent with the boasted disinterestedness of that court, which had disclaimed all views upon the Crimea, excepting the supposed establishment and support of its

independency. He even descended so far, as to accept a captain's commission in the empress's body guards.

These things were ill to be borne by a high-spirited people, who had in all ages considered liberty as the most invaluable of human blessings. The means used by Russia to gain a strong party in the country, to support their khan, could only reach to a limited portion of the people; but a great majority were highly dissatisfied at these proceedings, and wished to be again governed by their own princes, in their own way. They likewise preferred a connexion with the Ottomans, with whom they had been so long united, who were of the same religion, and in conjunction with whom they had partaken of so much glory and spoil in war, than with a nation, which, besides being christian, they had been in the habit, through many ages, of regarding either with contempt or enmity.

The discontented party were encouraged and supported by the Tartars of the Cuban, as well as the Nogais, and even by some of the more distant nations or tribes of that people, who could not but be alarmed at the manner in which Russia was spreading her influence and authority on all sides, and apprehensive of becoming victims to her power and designs in their turn. Nor will it be imagined that the Porte itself did not secretly encourage the ill disposition of this people to Russia and to her khan; especially as she did not prevent several of her Mahometan subjects, in the Asiatic countries bordering on the Black Sea, from taking an open and active part in the ensuing troubles of the Crimea.

The devastation which the city of Constantinople sustained by fire, in the course of the year 1782, has scarcely been equalled. Besides several preceding losses, and being unusually harassed by the plague, on the 23d of July in the evening a fire broke out in the quarter called Ballatta, which was mostly inhabited by Jews, and a most populous part of the town. The wind being high, and the weather for some time preceding very dry, it spread with the utmost rapidity, and threatened the whole city with destruction. During seventeen hours that it lasted,

lasted, the grand signior, the vizir, and other great officers of state, were constantly on horseback, using every exertion to stop the progress of the flames, and to animate the people to their duty. The number of houses destroyed was calculated at ten thousand, besides mosques, churches, and other public edifices.

But this fire, dreadful as it was, seemed only a preparatory notice to that unfortunate city of the calamity to which it was immediately destined. In something short of a month, about ten o'clock at night, on the 22d of August, a fire broke out in the quarter called Gibali, situated towards the middle of the harbour; and this being enraged by a high north wind, was soon extended to such a degree, as baffled all efforts for its suppression, and seemed to put an end to all hope. The violence and intenseness of the fire were so great, that one of the largest and strongest palaces, that of the aga of the janissaries, totally disappeared in less than ten minutes after the flames had reached it.

The flames proceeded from sea to sea, and burned the interior of the seven towers, at the opposite extremity of the city. In that direction the fire raged three miles in length, through the richest and best inhabited streets, carrying a front of sometimes a mile broad, and sometimes less, as the irregular hilly situation of the city would admit. It then branched out in various directions, so that there seemed at one time no less than eleven distinct conflagrations. Most of these were only stopped by the sea, consuming the very wharfs, and every thing to the water edge. A great but unknown number of people perished; one part being surrounded and intercepted by the flames, and the other, more happily throwing themselves into the water, to escape a more dreadful fate.

This conflagration (which perhaps has not been exceeded by any recorded in history) continued to rage with unremitting fury for sixty-two hours; the wind blowing fiercely almost the whole time. If the damage was not entirely irreparable, it was, however, impossible to ascertain, in any degree, the amount of the losses. The sufferings and distress of above two hundred thousand people,

people, involved at once in ruin and calamity, and left without refuge or shelter from the weather, would still less admit of description. It was supposed that about two-thirds of that vast and populous city had been destroyed by the late and the present fire; and that above 40,000 houses then lay in ruins. The destruction of public edifices was proportioned to that of private buildings. All the chambers of the janissaries, above 50 mosques, 300 corn-mills, and 200 public ovens, were destroyed. The loss of a number of great magazines stored with provisions (a vast supply of which is always necessarily kept in hand, to prevent the danger of a famine in that overgrown metropolis) was among the evils most sensibly and immediately felt.

The direction of the wind happened to be favourable to the seraglio, and to what might be considered as the government quarter of the city, which accordingly escaped the desolation. The grand signior, and all the ministers of the Porte, attended, and distributed money without count to the people. The fast of the Ramazan was suspended, and every subsequent measure pursued, which could afford relief, or even satisfaction to the people.

But the public fermentation was too extreme to be easily allayed. The repeated misfortunes and present miseries of the people seemed insupportable. A revolution had been the usual consequence of much less severe and afflicting trials; and though the good qualities and popularity of the grand signior, along with the firmness of the captain bashaw, might possibly enable them to weather the danger, it was however necessary to hold out some object of blame to the people, on which they might vent their ill-humour. The sacrifice of an unfortunate minister, however blameless or deserving, is indeed the great resource of despotic governments in cases of great public discontent. Happy is it thought when the victim is accepted as a whole offering.

Ysed Mehemet was accordingly deposed from his office of grand vizir, in two days after the fire had been subdued; and Jeian Mehemet, a man, at least of equal, if not superior abilities, and more fortunate, was appointed

pointed his successor. The late minister passed through the ordeal of removal with more impunity than had been usually experienced in such circumstances. He was only sent in exile to Demotica, without any mark of ill-will or reprobation whatever. Though we have no particular information on the subject, it seems highly probable, that the present appointment proceeded from the same influence which procured the former. The unusual, and, perhaps in that court, unequalled cordiality, which constantly prevailed between the new grand vizir and the captain bashaw, and the equal part which they ever continued to take, in their endeavours to correct the abuses, and to restore the affairs of the empire, serve strongly to countenance this opinion.

The late calamity was little calculated to encourage the state to undertake, or to enable it to maintain, a war; at the same time that the causes for war were multiplying, and its appearances, on more sides than one, sufficiently menacing. The troubles in the Crimea were risen to their utmost pitch. The revolted Tartars had elected a new khan. A civil war ensued. That beautiful, and lately populous country, became a scene of desolation and blood. Sabin Gueraï was worsted, and his party at length reduced almost to nothing. This was the very state of things which Russia undoubtedly wished, and had all along sought for. She had now a pretence for sending her forces into the Crimea, to support what she represented as the real prince, against rebels and an usurper. The consequences were easily foreseen. The Tartars, torn to pieces among themselves, notwithstanding the aid they received from without, were little able to withstand the regular forces and unabating exertions of the Russians. In these circumstances they turned their eyes, and directed all their hopes to the Porte, as their last refuge.

At the same time, the court of Petersburg highly resented the conduct of the Porte, to which it attributed all the troubles of the Crimea. It charged them with fomenting the discontents, and being the author of the revolt in that country; with suffering and encouraging thei

their subjects in Natolia to take a direct and active part in the war; and with instigating other Tartar tribes and nations, both to an interference in those troubles, and to commit many irregularities elsewhere, particularly on the side of Caucasus. Strong remonstrances on these subjects were backed by the march of Russian armies towards the frontiers, by the forming of magazines, and by all the preparations for war. Similar measures were necessarily adopted on the other side, so that a rupture between the two powers seemed inevitable.

But another great neighbour, who could scarcely be deemed less dangerous, and was not much disposed to be less troublesome than Russia, was destined to involve the Ottoman empire still deeper in embarrassment and difficulty. The emperor of Germany, at the same time that he was dismantling the celebrated fortresses on his western borders, was assiduously engaged, without sparing labour or expense, in enlarging and increasing those on his eastern frontiers. Every thing military, all the dreadful apparatus of war, were transferred to the Drave, the Save, and the Danube. The garrisons were replenished, lines formed and filled with troops, and these great rivers covered with artillery, ammunition, and provision for the magazines.

The long truce between the Porte and the court of Vienna was on the point of expiring; and, in the present state of their affairs, there was nothing the former wished for more than a renewal of the truce, excepting only the conclusion of a solid peace, upon such conditions as might be capable of preventing future differences, and of securing for a long time their tranquillity on that side. They accordingly proposed sending an extraordinary embassy for this purpose to Vienna; but the emperor, who had other views, found means to evade the proposal. That politic prince, determining to be governed in his conduct by future contingencies, was not at all disposed, for present moderate advantages, to give up the prospect of obtaining much greater, when a proper time and season might arrive. He was besides so closely linked with Russia, and their views being directed to one object,
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which was, however, of so vast a magnitude, as to afford full room for the enterprise and ambition of both, little doubt can be entertained, but that plans of future operation and arrangement, suited to probable contingencies and circumstances, had already been mutually concerted.

However that was, the emperor kept the business of renewing the truce, or concluding a treaty of peace, at a distance. It was held out in general terms by his ministers, that for that purpose a new demarcation of limits would be indispensably necessary; that a restoration of the whole or a part of the cessions made by the court of Vienna, in the treaty of Belgrade, would be expected; and that the free navigation of the Danube, and of the Black Sea, were objects so much at heart, that they could not by any means be overlooked. In the mean time, preparations for war were carried on with as much vigour in Hungary, and the adjoining countries, as if it had been a matter determined on; and no doubt could remain on the side of the Porte, but that a rupture with Russia must inevitably be attended by a war with the emperor.

Under these discouraging circumstances, and the fate of the empire seeming to hang upon the result, the divan spent eight successive days, in the month of September 1782, debating on the question of a war with Russia. The ruinous consequences of that power's succeeding in her designs upon the Crimea; of the naval strength which the excellent harbours, and the commerce of that peninsula, would place in her hands; of the prodigious addition to her power by land (already too great) which her swallowing up all the nations of Tartars between the Caspian, the Black Sea, the Boristhenes, and the Danube, and their being involved in the common mass of her subjects, would occasion; were all fully understood, and stated, as well as many other evils and dangers.

The temper and disposition of their own people were likewise matters of consideration. The Turks in general, and more particularly the inhabitants of the metropolis, incapable of knowing or comprehending the true
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state of public affairs, and the real situation of the empire, attributed all that apparent degradation, of which they were too sensible, to the want of ability or spirit in their governors. The sight of the Russian flag flying in their narrow seas and channels, was as grievous as it was novel; the haughty commanding language held upon every occasion by the ministers of that power, was intolerably galling to the Turkish pride; and as they felt greatly for the sufferings and oppression of the Tartars, they were exceedingly interested in the affairs of the Crimea, and in behalf of the new khan. The great marine which Russia was forming at Cherson (a new port near the mouth of the Boristhenes, on the Black Sea) was likewise among the cogent reasons for immediate war: That event, it was said, must, at no great distance of time, inevitably take place; and it was better to encounter the danger while the enemy continued weak on one element, than to wait till he became irresistible both by sea and land. The public, accordingly, loudly cried for war; and it has ever been dangerous to government, in that country, to oppose the general sense of the people.

To all these powerful motives and reasons for entering into a war (the validity of which could not be disputed) one short but irresistible argument was to be opposed. This was the unfortunate situation of public affairs, which rendered the state so far incapable of entering into a war (even with one of her formidable enemies) upon any rational ground of advantage, that she would, on the contrary, rush into it under the dismal impression of inevitable ruin: That neither their naval nor land forces were yet in a condition, in any degree, to warrant so dangerous a trial: That although the captain bashaw had with wonderful perseverance and industry, in some degree, created a new marine, and had made great improvements, as well in the construction of the ships, as in the manner of working and fighting them, and in the nature and management of their artillery, yet that great work was still far from being brought to perfection, and would require farther time, along with all his application and abilities, for its accomplishment: That similar objections,

objections, but with much greater force, were applicable **with respect** to the state of their armies: That the great **reforms** in the discipline of the troops, which were now **in act** as well as in prospect, though conducted under the **auspices** of the grand signior himself, and supported by **all** the powers of government, were yet of a nature which **forbad** their being compassed of a sudden: That **improvements** of such magnitude, with such numberless **difficulties** to encounter, and in the execution of which **they** must rely entirely upon the assistance of foreigners, **must** require long time and long patience for the accomplishment: And that surely they did not want fore and recent experience to be informed, that no valour could **enable** their armies, in the present state of their arms and discipline, to withstand European forces in the field: That it was therefore more wise and eligible to submit to present loss, and even disgrace, however grievous that was, under the hope of the future good effect of these measures, and of a more fortunate conjunction of things, than in a fit of mad and impotent vexation to precipitate the empire into destruction: That the Tartars were a people easily subdued; but that it had ever been found exceedingly difficult to retain them long in subjection; and that whenever the proper and fortunate season arrived, they would return with the greatest joy, and with renewed zeal and affection, to the arms of their old and natural friends and protectors.

These arguments being firmly supported by the grand vizir, the captain bashaw, and the musti, they at length brought over the greater number, who had been advocates for war, to their opinion. It was accordingly determined to leave the affairs of the Crimea to take their own course; to disavow any past interference of government in that business; and to attribute to the zeal of individuals for their religion, and a strong attachment to the Tartars, whom, from long habits of connexion, they considered nearly as the same people with themselves, the conduct of such of their Turkish subjects, whether in Natolia, or elsewhere, as had taken any part in the troubles: But while these instances of condescension, and a

love of tranquillity, were given on their side, fully to represent the impropriety in the conduct of Russia, and to show that the Tartars, having been declared independent by the late treaty, were to be considered as absolute masters of their own conduct, with respect to the electing or deposing of their sovereigns; that no neighbouring power could have the smallest pretence of right for interfering in either case; but that if the reverse were even admitted, the conduct of the deposed khan, in endeavouring to overthrow the laws and constitutions of his country, could not be supported upon any principle of justice. It was at the same time determined, that the Porte should, by the strongest remonstrances, and by every other measure short of war, endeavour to prevent Russia from making any permanent settlement in the Crimea, and from converting, under the pretence of garrisons, any of the principal harbours and fortresses to her own use. It was likewise agreed upon to make a proposal to the court of Petersburg, of referring all matters of difference between the two empires, including the affairs of the Crimea, to the arbitration of some christian power, who should be mutually chosen by the parties, and whose determination should be conclusive.

Though these pacific measures were directly contrary to the wishes of the public, and though the continual sight and contemplation of the ruins of their houses would have been sufficient alone to have excited the highest ferment among the populace; yet through the popularity of the grand signior, with the vigour and firmness of his principal ministers, not only no convulsion whatever took place, but a degree of quiet and order was preserved, unexampled in that city, under any circumstances of irritation and discontent, approaching even in a remote degree to those which prevailed at present.

In the mean time, the fury of the plague, which, through the summer and autumn of the year 1782, had most cruelly ravaged all the Tartar and Turkish countries on the frontiers of Russia and Poland, had served to restrain the no less cruel ravages of war; and in particular had greatly checked the operation of the Russian armies,

armies, who were much more intent on guarding against the approaches of that fell enemy, than on gratifying ambition at the expense of any other.

Before the effect of the late pacific councils could be known, the Porte had the mortification to discover, that the impatience and haughtiness of its great neighbours were too extreme, to admit of their listening to arguments, or waiting the slow result of negotiations. The emperor of Germany now pulled off the mask, and avowed his determination of supporting all the claims and pretensions of Russia, as well as his own; and the engagements between both were declaredly reciprocal. Towards the close of the year 1782 two very strong, and, as they were called, spirited memorials, were presented from the courts of Petersburg and Vienna; in which, besides other things, it was peremptorily insisted, that the Porte should not in future, under any pretence, intermeddle in the affairs of the Tartars; that the privileges of the two provinces of Moldavia and Walachia should not be infringed; and that the free navigation of the Black Sea and the Archipelago should not in any manner be obstructed. The consequences of a failure with respect to these demands could not be more fully explained than they already were, by the appearance of the armies on the frontiers, and of the vast preparations for war which had been made by both the parties.

The pacific disposition of the Porte, and the terms proposed in consequence of it, were of no avail in bringing about an accommodation with her two great and ambitious neighbours. Their demands appeared so exorbitant, that it became a question, even with the wise and moderate, whether it were not better at once to put every thing to the hazard, than to be trained on through degrading concessions to a state of imbecility, which would not leave them the means or power of even rendering their fall glorious. The demands made by Russia were said to be no less than the full possession of the Crimea, the isle of Taman, the Cuban, and Budziac Tartary, with the fortrefs of Ockzacow, and other cessions of less importance. On the part of the emperor, besides smaller

matters, was required the full restitution of all that had been ceded by the treaty of Belgrade, including that city itself, with a considerable part of the provinces of Walachia, Servia, and Bosnia; these cessions to be followed by such a demarcation of limits, as would afford a satisfactory frontier for their future security; the free navigation of the Danube, and of the Turkish seas, being in all cases to be considered as a preliminary, from which there was no receding.

All sides prepared for the most decisive hostility, and the preparations were immense on all. The year 1783 accordingly exhibited such an apparatus of war on the northern and eastern borders of Europe, as had never before been beheld, even in those martial regions. The Danube groaned, through the better part of his course, under the weight of the prodigious artillery, and the immense quantities of ammunition and provision, which the emperor forwarded from his hereditary states to the frontiers. The troops which he had already in Hungary, and the adjoining provinces, were estimated at more than 130,000, and others were advancing from different quarters. The artillery which he now sent to frontiers that were at all times well provided with that article, was estimated at more than 1500 pieces. Indefatigable in all his pursuits, he visited Hungary and the adjoining provinces early in the summer, and examined personally the state of the garrisons, magazines, lines, and armies.

The Russian forces were at the same time advancing through different parts of Poland, and through all the countries from the Don to the Nieper, towards the scene of action. Their preparations were, as usual, immense; that government never hesitating at any expense, with respect to labour, men, or the means of supply in war.

On the other hand, the Porte had drawn great bodies of their Asiatic troops into Europe; so that their armies on the frontiers, or the approach to them, already exceeded 150,000 men. Their janissaries and European troops were in good condition; and their armies in general were better provided, and upon a much better footing, than they had been in the late war. They had procured

cured a great number of European officers, particularly French, to come into their service; among these were several engineers, and they were indefatigable in the improvement of their artillery, and in endeavouring to introduce the European modes of discipline, clothing, and arms, in their armies. The janissaries and soldiers showed, upon this occasion, a docility which had never been expected from them: Indeed the bigotry and prejudices even of the common people were visibly wearing away; so powerful are the effects which misfortunes, joined with the example of their rulers, can produce in the manners and tempers of men.

The captain bashaw, who was the life of all their military improvements, as well by land as on his own element, had formed such a marine on the Black Sea, as to be far superior to the Russian naval force in that quarter. He had likewise a considerable fleet for the Archipelago and Mediterranean service; but that was the Ottoman weak side; and they seemed to dread Russia more there than on any other.

The war in the Crimea had not proceeded without difficulties, although the particulars of them are not publicly known. The Russian manifesto, which was published as a justification to the world of her conduct in taking possession of the Crimea, states the expenses of the war at twelve millions of roubles (which does not fall far short of three millions sterling), and seems to consider that expense as a foundation for one of the empress's claims upon that country. The same piece, in stating the loss of lives upon the occasion, observing that their value is inestimable, refrains accordingly from giving an account of the number.

In the mean time, the Russian khan abdicated his throne, and transferred the supposed right to the dominion of his country to the empress. This was no less than an absolute sale of a people and their country, the khan receiving considerable estates in Russia for the purchase. It seems remarkable, that neither this abdication nor purchase are specified as affording any title or claim to Russia upon the country; nor indeed are they at all taken notice of in the manifesto.

In that piece, which is signed by the empress, and dated at Petersburgh, on the 8th of April 1783 (although it did not make its appearance until late in the summer), the Crimea, the Cuban, and the island of Taman, are declared to be for ever annexed to her dominions. It states, that the great successes which enabled Russia to subdue the Crimea in the late war, and to have retained it, if she had so chosen at the peace, would have afforded her a full right to its dominion. But that, and many other conquests, were sacrificed to her desire of establishing the public tranquillity, and the friendship between the two empires, upon the most permanent foundations: That these motives had induced her to stipulate for the freedom and independence of the Tartars, as the means of cutting off every possible cause of future dissension.

The failure of this design, and all the subsequent troubles of the Crimea, are partly attributed to the secret insinuations and conduct of a certain unnamed (but well understood) power, in fomenting the discontents, partly to the restless temper of the Tartar nation, and partly to their being so long accustomed to servitude, that the greater part of the people were incapable of understanding or enjoying the benefits of that freedom and independence, which had been obtained for them. To indemnify Russia for the expense of money and blood she had already been at, to prevent similar consequences in future, for the preservation of the public tranquillity, and to remove all causes of farther contention between the two empires, were held out to be the objects of the present measure. The Tartars were assured that they should be placed upon an equality with the ancient subjects of Russia, and that they should enjoy the most absolute liberty of conscience, with the full exercise of their public worship and religious ceremonies.

This manifesto was answered by the Porte in so masterly a manner, both with respect to style and matter, that it might be considered as a model for such documents. After pointing out, and severely animadverting upon, the encroaching disposition, and the over-ruling spirit, of the court of Petersburgh, and examining and
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invalidating the pretended claims upon the Crimea, it proceeds to expose, in a very striking point of view, that wantonness of power, and inordinacy of ambition, which could extend them to the Cuban, to the isle of Taman, and to the sovereignty of the Black Sea. It puts the question, What pretension of right can Russia have to territories annexed for ages to the dominions of the Porte? Would not such claims on any part of the Russian empire be instantly repulsed? And can it be presumed that the sublime Porte, however desirous of peace, will acquiesce in wrong, which, however it may be disguised by ambition under the colour of policy, reason and equity must deem absolute usurpation? What northern power has the Porte offended? Whose territories have the Ottoman troops invaded? In the country of what prince is the Turkish standard displayed? Content with the boundaries of empire assigned by God and the prophet, the wishes of the Porte are for peace; but if the court of Russia be determined in her claims, and will not recede, without acquisitions of territory which do not belong to her, appealing to the world for the justice of its proceedings, the sublime Porte must prepare for war, relying on the decrees of heaven, and confident in the interposition of the prophet of prophets, that he will protect his faithful followers in the hour of every difficulty.

In the midst of all these appearances of war, and preparations for it, negotiations for a peace, under the mediation of France, were continually carried on at Constantinople; and the people of that capital were forbidden, under the severest penalties, from holding any discourse whatever upon the subject or design of the vast armaments, by sea and land, which were incessantly making or passing before their eyes. It was observable, that although the preparations for immediate war made by the emperor, at least equalled, if they did not exceed in magnitude those of Russia, yet the apprehensions of the Porte seemed principally to lie the other way, and their greatest efforts were directed to that side. It is not impossible but they retained hopes, that if things proceeded to absolute extremity with the one, means might be used to mollify the
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the other, by such large concessions as necessity might then dictate, and it would be their interest to make. The bashaw of Belgrade, and their other commanders on the frontiers, were accordingly instructed, not only to refrain from all things which could give umbrage to the court of Vienna, but to pursue the most conciliatory measures in all their transactions with the Austrian subjects; and particularly, to pay the most marked personal attention to the emperor himself, when he approached the borders. This disposition was so prevalent, that in the height of the troubles, when nothing less than war and desolation seemed on all sides at hand, the Danube was, for the first time, opened to the imperial ships; two of which, with their proper colours, were received in the most friendly manner at Belgrade, where they were furnished with passports to enable them to pass the other Turkish fortresses in their voyage to the Black Sea.

In the mean time the troubles and enemies of the Ottomans were multiplying on all sides. The republic of Venice was closely engaged with Russia, and her countenance and dispositions, notwithstanding her pacific system and character, fully indicated that she hoped to come in for a share of the expected spoil; nor could it be supposed a small one, considering the number and extent of her claims, along with the singular benefits which that power would derive, from the use of her ports, and the assistance of her naval force, in the prosecution of the war. New troubles were broken out on the side of Egypt; where the turbulent beys were engaged in a civil war, and the whole country was thrown into a state of anarchy and confusion. Thus surrounded, involved, and distressed in Europe and Africa, their mortal and hereditary enemies the Persians attacked them in the East, and had commenced a war on the side of Bassora.

To profit more effectually of these embarrassments and difficulties, and, as it were, to complete the cycle of their troubles and dangers, the prince Heraclius of Georgia was induced to invade Natolia; a diversion, which, if it produced no greater effect, might at any rate supposed to prove a considerable check to the Porte, with

with respect to the forces which they intended farther to draw from Asia to Europe. Whether it proceeded from the fault of the desultory troops which he commanded, or from the effectual preparation made for his reception, however it was, Heraclius did nothing, in this expedition, at all answerable to his former reputation. Before he could even do any considerable mischief, the bashaw of Natolia marched against him at the head of 18,000 men; and, though the Georgians were superior in number, obliged them to retire with precipitation to their own country. This, though not a great matter, if time, distance, and circumstances are considered, will serve to show, that vigour and resource were not entirely defunct or exhausted in that empire; and the more especially, as the Georgians have ever been particularly distinguished for their valour.

In the mean time the plague which broke out at Cherson, and other parts of the Russian frontier, and penetrated even to the borders of Poland, threw no small damp upon the military operations on that side, and afforded time for the progress of the negotiations at Constantinople, before matters were precipitated to such an extremity as would not admit of stay or recal. It seemed singular enough, that at the time the flames of war were expected, and seemed ready to break out in every quarter, a new treaty of commerce between Russia and the Porte should not only be in train, but actually concluded at Constantinople. It will appear still more singular, that the account of the abdication of the Tartar khan, with the seizure of the Crimea and Cuban by Russia, and the annexing them to her own dominion, was received just before the treaty was signed, and yet the intelligence of this unexpected and extraordinary transaction did not prevent its execution: A circumstance which fully shows the consciousness of the Porte, of its being totally unequal to the support of a war. The mingled rage and anguish of the people upon this intelligence was never exceeded, nor perhaps equalled, upon any former occasion; they cried loudly for vengeance, for the support of the Ottoman dignity and glory, and
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for the rescue of their injured and oppressed brethren; while their voice was rendered the more formidable, from its being supported by all the chiefs and men of the law. Nothing could afford a more striking instance of the firmness of government, than its being able to withstand the shock.

An acquiescence in so important a revolution, and a submission under so severe a loss, could leave no doubt that smaller matters would be much disputed. On the other side, Russia had now attained as much new dominion as she was for the present, or could for some time to come, be well able to manage. And besides the ill policy of too great an immediate extension of conquest, there were other causes which operated strongly against her forcing a war. With respect to the loss of men, foreign wars are (from various causes, some of which could not easily be removed) more destructive to that country than to any other; at the same time, that from the vastness of the empire, and the thin state of its population, that loss is more peculiarly felt. With respect to her finances also, foreign war, from the great quantities of money which it necessarily draws out of the country, is exceedingly pernicious to Russia, which can by no means well spare such a drain from her circulation; nor were the effects of the extraordinary expenses incurred in the last war yet entirely done away, and the accumulating of a new debt could not but be a matter of serious consideration. The mediation of France had likewise its weight on all sides; and the part which the house of Bourbon, and perhaps other powers, might take in a war of conquest, wantonly entered into, and rendered peculiarly odious, by a pertinacious rejection of all equitable terms of accommodation, was a matter that demanded attention.

Under all these circumstances, the negotiations at Constantinople were carried on with great facility towards the close of the year; and early in the following (Jan. 9, 1784) a new treaty of accommodation was concluded and signed between the two empires. By this treaty Russia retains the full sovereignty of her new acquisitions; and the only object of consideration gained by the Porte,

Porte, was the ascertaining of fixed limits to her claims in Asia; the river Cuban being made the boundary on that side, and Russia renouncing all pretensions upon the Tartar nations beyond it. All matters relative to trade, shipping, tolls, and duties, had been settled by the preceding treaty of commerce. The captain bashaw's signature was the first, on the Ottoman side, to this treaty of accommodation.

The year 1783 was fatally marked by the desolation of some of the most celebrated, the most beautiful, and the most fertile provinces of Europe. The two Calabrias, once the favoured seat of the muses, and so long renowned under the distinguished appellation of Magna Grecia, were now doomed, along with part of Sicily, to be the melancholy scene of the most tremendous, the longest-continued, the most fatal with respect to mankind, and the most destructive to the face of the country, succession of earthquakes, that had yet been known, even in those volcanic regions. They were indeed so dreadful, that they served rather to impress ideas of the final dissolution of all things, than to induce any hope from analogy, founded on the experience of former convulsions of the earth.

The first shock, which happened about noon, on the 5th of February 1783, was by far the most destructive, if not the most tremendous in other respects. Several causes concurred to render this shock particularly fatal. It came on suddenly, without any of the usual indications; it was about the Italian time of dinner, when the people were mostly in their houses; but beyond all, the motion of the earth in that shock was vertical, rising suddenly upwards from its foundations, and as suddenly sinking again. By this fatal motion, the greatest buildings, villages, towns, and entire cities, were instantaneously involved in one common destruction; nothing remaining to be seen, but vast heaps of undistinguishable ruins, without any traces of streets or houses. An inhabitant of Casal Nuova, happening to be on a hill over it at the time of the shock, and looking eagerly back to the town, could see no other remains of it, than the appearance

pearance of a cloud of white smoke, occasioned by the flying mortar, which had been dissipated by the crash of the houses.

The Calabria Ultra, particularly that part on the western side of the Appennines, was the peculiar victim of this first shock. Its dreadful effects were not confined to the destruction of mankind, and to little less than the annihilation of populous and flourishing villages, towns, and cities, but the whole face of that beautiful country was mangled and disfigured. Mountains were rent; vallies closed up, the hills that formed them being thrown from their places, and meeting their opposites in the centre; the course of rivers was necessarily changed, or the water, being entirely dammed up, was formed into great and increasing lakes.

Of those towns and cities where the greatest destruction of mankind took place, we are not to pass over Casal Nuova, where the princess Gerace Grimaldi, with more than four thousand of her subjects, perished in the same instant. At Bagnara, above three thousand of the inhabitants were lost. Radicina, and Palma, counted their loss at about three thousand each; Terra Nuova, at about fourteen hundred, and Seminari still more. The inhabitants of Scylla thought they had reason to rejoice in escaping from their houses, on the celebrated rock of that name, at the instant of the first shock; and following the example of their prince, descended to a little harbour at the foot of the hill, where getting into boats, or stretched upon the shore, they thought themselves free from danger. But in the course of the night a stupendous wave, which is said to have been driven furiously three miles over land, upon its return swept away the unfortunate prince, with 2473 of his subjects. It may not, perhaps, be entirely unnecessary to observe, that the barons in the kingdom of Naples possess an absolute sovereignty over their vassals.

The country mostly ruined by the first shock, and where the greatest mortality took place, was the celebrated Sila, of the ancient Brutii. The north-east angle of Sicily, including the city of Messina, was likewise

wife in a considerable degree a victim to that shock ; but the greatest violence of its exertions, and its most dreadful effects, were in the plain on the western side of the Appennine. Several succeeding shocks, through the months of February and March, were little less tremendous, and extended their effects still farther than the first. They included the Calabria Citra, and those parts of the Ultra which had escaped the first mischief. But notwithstanding their violence, the destruction was by no means equal, and the loss of lives happily bore no manner of proportion to the first dreadful mortality. The people, warned by that calamity, had every-where abandoned their houses, and lived in barracks ; and the motion of the earth being somewhat different in the succeeding shocks, though buildings were shaken down and ruined, yet they were not entirely involved, nor whole towns obliterated in one crush, as in the first.

The earth, in all that part of Italy, continued for several weeks, more or less, in a constant state of tremor ; and several shocks, with different degrees of violence, were every day felt ; so that the unhappy people, already worn down with calamity and grief, through the loss of their property, and of their dearest relations, were still kept in a continual state of apprehension and terror.

The whole of the mortality, according to the returns made to the secretary of state's office in Naples, amounted to 33,567. These returns, drawn up in the confusion and misery that prevailed, could not be accurate ; and it was supposed by the best judges, that the real loss, including strangers, amounted, at least, to 40,000. These estimates only take in the immediate victims to the earthquakes ; those who perished through want, diseases, anguish, and every species of subsequent distress, not being included. Some idea of the general distresses may be gathered, from those which were suffered by Don Marcello Grillo. This gentleman possessed great landed property, besides 12,000 pieces of gold, which were buried under the ruins of his house in the city of Oppido. Yet, with all these advantages of fortune, he was for several days and nights houseless, and exposed, without food or shelter, to the ex-

cessive rains which then constantly fell; and was in this course instructed in the relative duties of humanity, by being beholden to a hermit for lending him a clean shirt.

The king and government of Naples used all possible means for relieving the immediate distresses of the people, as well as for enabling them in some degree to recover from the ruin in which they were so calamitously involved: The conduct of the archbishop of Reggio upon this occasion cannot be too much praised, or too generally known. That excellent prelate immediately disposed of all the superfluous ornaments of the churches, and of his own horses and furniture, the produce of which he applied to the relief of his distressed flock; and continued, through the whole course of the earthquake, cheerfully to bear an equal share in the inconveniences and sufferings to which they were exposed, and to sympathise in those calamities which he could not remedy. This admirable conduct was the more striking, as the great men of the country did not in general exert a similar spirit.

It was a curious observation made upon this unhappy occasion, that the male dead buried in the ruins, were almost constantly found in an attitude of exertion, as if struggling against the danger; while, on the other hand, the female attitude was, as generally, the hands clasped over the head, as giving themselves up entirely to despair; excepting only, when there were children near them, in which circumstance, they were always found, either clasping them in their arms, or in some other attitude no less expressive of maternal tenderness; and fully showing, that the anxious care for their preservation had in that dreadful moment banished all fear and consideration with respect to themselves.

When the English parliament assembled on the 11th of November 1783, they were informed in the speech from the throne, that definitive treaties had been concluded with the courts of France and Spain, and with the United States of America; and that preliminary articles had been ratified with the States General of the United Provinces.

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They were told that the cause of their being called together so early was the situation of the East India company, which would require the utmost exertion of their abilities to regulate and amend. Their attention was next called to the frauds which prevailed, and the outrages which had been committed relative to the collection of the public revenues.

Addresses in the usual form were moved by the earl of Scarborough in the house of lords; and by the earl of Upper Ossory in the lower house; and were unanimously agreed to.

In the course of the debates upon the address in the house of lords, earl Temple charged administration with having forced their way into the service of the crown. He asked why no mention had been made in the speech of the situation of affairs in Ireland. Mr. William Pitt and Mr. Thomas Pitt, in the house of commons, animadverted with great triumph on the inconsistency of the ministerial side of the house in voting an address of thanks to the king, for having concluded definitive treaties of peace, the preliminary articles of which they had before voted inadequate and dishonourable.

Mr. William Pitt warned the ministers, "that as to the affairs of India, it would not be enough to attempt measures of palliation, and of a temporary nature; that would only increase the danger by removing it to a distance; and he expressed his surprise that this important business had been so long postponed."

Mr. Fox closed apparently with this admonition, acknowledged "that the state of India was such as would ill brook delay in their deliberations, and he was happy to give notice, that on that day se'nnight he should be prepared to make a motion relative to India affairs."

Mr. Fox, accordingly, on the 18th of November moved the house for leave to bring in a bill "for vesting the affairs of the East India company in the hands of certain commissioners, for the benefit of the proprietors and the public:" And also, a bill "for the better government of the territorial possessions and dependencies in India." The plan proposed by Mr. Fox was marked

with all the characteristics of an ardent and daring mind. The total derangement of the finances of the company, and their utter incompetency to govern the vast territories of which they had, by very questionable means, obtained the possession, was too evident to admit of contradiction.

The purport of his celebrated bill was to take from the directors and the proprietors the entire administration, not of their territorial merely, but of their commercial affairs, and to vest the management and direction of them in the hands of seven commissioners named in the bill, and not removable by the crown, except in consequence of an address of either house of parliament. The commissioners named were, earl Fitzwilliam, as president of the board; the right honourable Frederic Montague, the honourable George Augustus North; sir Gilbert Elliot, sir Henry Fletcher, baronets; and Robert Gregory, esq.; who, it could not fail to be remarked, were divided upon the model and in the same proportion as the members of the cabinet.

These commissioners were to be assisted by a subordinate board of nine directors, to be named in the first instance by parliament, and afterwards chosen by the proprietors. And the bill empowered these commissioners and directors immediately to enter into possession of all lands, tenements, books, goods, vessels, and securities, in trust for the company.

It was proposed that this act, by which the charter of the company was entirely superseded, should continue in force for four years, that is, till the year after the next general election; and it was accompanied by a second bill as already mentioned, enacting very excellent, wise, and equitable regulations for the future government of the British territories in Hindostan. The astonishment excited by the disclosure of this plan was very considerable; and while it was on one side of the house extolled as a master-piece of genius, virtue, and ability, it was on the other reprobated as a deep and dangerous design, fraught with mischief and ruin. Mr. W. Pitt granted "that India wanted a reform, but not such a reform as this;

this ; it wanted a *constitutional* alteration, and not a *tyrannical* one, that broke through every principle of equity and justice. He said that by the bill before the house, an attack was made on the most solemn charters; it pointed a fatal blow against the faith and integrity of parliament; it broke through every tie by which man was bound to man. If the principle of this bill was once established, the other public companies of the kingdom would have no security left. In such a case where would be the security of the bank of England? The principle once admitted, it would not cease to operate on other occasions. Good principles might sleep, but bad ones never. It was the curse of society, that when a bad principle was once established, bad men would always be found to give it its full effect. The bill under consideration included a confiscation of the property, and a disfranchisement of the members of the East India company ; all the several articles of whose effects were transferred by violence to strangers. Imagination was at a loss to guess at the most insignificant trifle that had escaped the harpy jaws of a *ravenous coalition*. The power indeed was pretended to be given in trust for the benefit of the proprietors; but in case of the grossest abuse of trust, to whom was the appeal? To the proprietors? No;—to the majority of either house of parliament, which the most contemptible minister could not fail to secure, with the patronage of above two millions sterling given by this bill. The new and enormous influence which would accrue from this bill was unexampled and alarming. Seven commissioners chosen ostensibly by parliament, but really by administration, were to involve in the vortex of their authority, the patronage and treasures of India. Mr. Pitt concluded with observing, that the right honourable mover had acknowledged himself to be a man of ambition ; and it now appeared that he was prepared to sacrifice the king, the parliament, and the people, at the shrine of his ambition."

The lord advocate, Mr. Jenkinson, Mr. Grenville, and others, ably and eloquently enforced these and similar arguments against the present extraordinary measure

of the minister. On the other hand, the bills were supported with great force of argument and energy of expression by the two secretaries of state, Mr. Burke, sir Grey Cooper, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Anstruther, and Mr. Adam. Mr. Fox with warmth declared, "that he would risque upon the execution of this bill whatever was most dear to him—whatever men most value; the character of integrity, of talents, of honour, of present reputation, and future fame;—these he would stake upon the constitutional safety, the enlarged policy, the equity and wisdom of this measure."

While the bill was pending, a petition was presented from the company, representing the measure as subversive of their charter, and operating as a confiscation of their property, without charging against them any specific delinquency, without trial, without conviction; a proceeding contrary to the most sacred privileges of British subjects; and, in fine, praying to be heard by counsel against the bill. The city of London also presented a strong petition to the same effect; but the bill was carried with rapidity through all its stages in the house of commons by decisive majorities; the division on the second reading being 217 to 103 voices. And on the 9th of December, Mr. Fox, attended by a numerous train of members, presented the bill at the bar of the house of lords. On this occasion earl Temple declared "that he was happy to embrace the first opportunity of entering his protest against so *infamous* a bill; against a stretch of power so truly alarming, and that went near to seize upon the most inestimable part of our constitution---*chartered rights*."

A brilliant panegyric on Mr. Hastings was pronounced by lord Thurlow, and the flourishing state of the company's affairs insisted on. After a short debate relative to the production of papers, on which the lords in opposition did not chuse to divide the house, the second reading was fixed for the 15th of December.

In the mean time various rumours began to circulate relative to some extraordinary movements in the interior of the court. It was said that on the 11th of December

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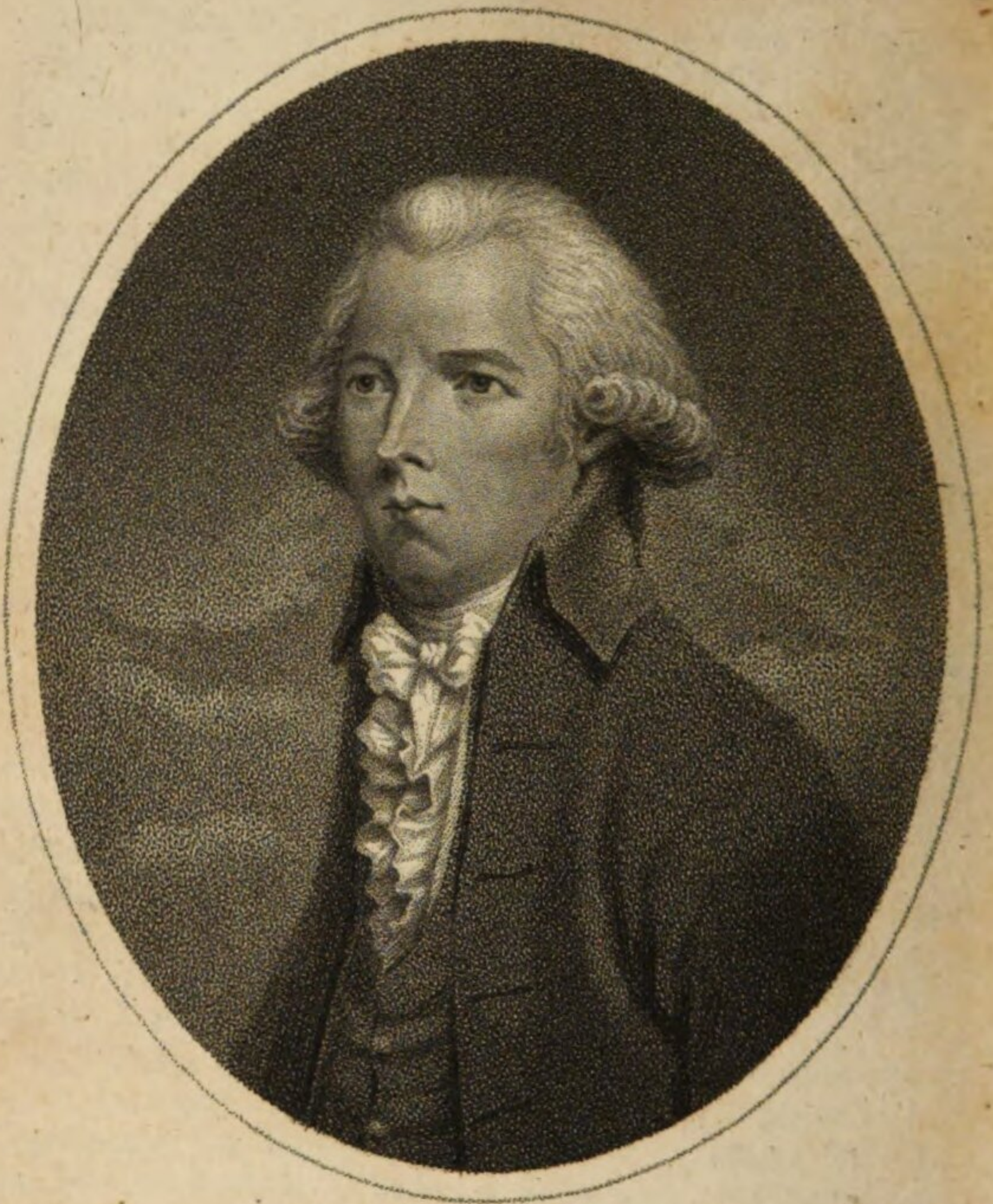
earl Temple had held a private conference with the king, in the course of which his lordship clearly and fully explained to his majesty the nature and tendency of the India bill, which had been hitherto honoured with the king's entire approbation. The royal indignation was in consequence of this discovery excited in a very high degree. The monarch considered himself as having been *duped* and *deceived*. A card was immediately written, stating, "That his majesty allowed earl Temple to say, that whoever voted for the India bill was not only not his friend, but would be considered by him as his enemy; and if these words were not strong enough, earl Temple might use whatever words he might deem stronger or more to the purpose." Communications were made to the same purport to several members of the upper house; and particularly to those peers whose offices engaged them in attendance on the king's person. On the day of the second reading of the bill, some extraordinary circumstances happened, which confirmed the reports relative to the above-mentioned transaction. Several lords who had entrusted their proxies to the minister and his friends, withdrew them only a few hours before the house assembled; and others, whose support he had every reason to expect, gave their votes on the side of opposition. On that day, after counsel had been heard at the bar of the upper house in behalf of the company, they requested of the lords an adjournment for the conclusion of their evidence; and on a motion being made, it was carried in opposition to the ministers, by 87 to 79 voices. The same day the house of commons, on the motion of Mr. Baker, took into consideration the reports in circulation. He moved, "that it was necessary to declare, that to report any opinion, or any pretended opinion of the king upon any bill, or other proceeding depending in either house of parliament, with a view to influence the votes of the members, was an high crime and misdemeanour." Mr. Pitt treated the motion with ridicule, and represented it as unworthy of the dignity of the house "to found any resolutions upon rumours and hearsays." But earl Nugent, father-in-law to earl Temple, with more seriousness

seriousness and firmness, declared, "that the resolution before them went to the utter annihilation of sovereignty. What! were not peers by their rank and situation hereditary counsellors of the crown? Would that house dare to derogate from the high dignity which the constitution had annexed to their station? Every peer, and indeed every commoner, under certain restrictions, had a right to address the sovereign. But the tendency of these resolutions was to make the monarch a kind of prisoner of state; and to shut him up from every kind of information unacceptable to the existing administration. Were any relation of his, in a crisis of difficulty and danger, to convey truths to his sovereign, of high importance to be known, though at the risque of incurring the utmost punishment which the indignation of that house could inflict, he should consider his conduct not merely justifiable, but transcendently meritorious; and such as would transmit his name with honour to the latest posterity."

Other members acknowledged something of irregularity in these proceedings, and wished that a measure so dangerous might have been counteracted in a mode more open and constitutional; but a great good had been obtained, and in this case it was not wise to examine into the cause with too accurate a discrimination, and too severe a scrutiny. The resolution moved by Mr. Baker passed nevertheless by a great majority.

A change of ministers appeared to be a measure determined upon by the king, and the dissolution of parliament an immediate and necessary consequence; but in order to render that as difficult as possible, a member of the majority in the commons moved immediately after the above resolutions were agreed to, "that whoever should prevent, or advise his majesty to prevent that house from discharging their duty in remedying the abuses which prevailed in the government of the British dominions in the East Indies, should be considered by them as an enemy to his country." The motion was carried by a great majority.

On the 17th of December the India bill was rejected by the lords, on a division of 95 to 76. At midnight a message



RT HON. WILLIAM PITT.

message was sent from the king to the secretaries of state, demanding the seals of their several departments; and early next morning letters of dismissal, signed Temple, were sent to the other members of the cabinet.

Some difficulty, it is said, attended the change of ministry. Earl Temple was at first appointed one of the secretaries of state; but apprehensive of the clamours which were excited in the house of commons, he soon after resigned. The office of prime minister, in the mean time, was hawked about, as an unsaleable commodity, and was offered to lord Thurlow, Mr. Thomas Pitt, and several others; but none could for some time be found sufficiently daring to accept it in the face of an enraged house of commons. The people did not however sympathize with their representatives on this occasion; not from any interest which they took in the affairs of the India company; not because the bill introduced by Mr. Fox * was considered as an unwise or pernicious measure; but from the odium which the Portland party had justly drawn upon themselves by the unprincipled coalition with lord North and his associates.

In this state of perplexity and distress, what the caution of age and experience had declined, the bold and unregulated ambition of inexperienced youth was induced to undertake; and Britain was insulted by seeing a school-boy placed at the head of her councils. Mr. William Pitt was in fact declared first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer—a fatal measure, which the nation will have long to mourn in tears of blood. The marquis of Carmarthen, and Mr. Thomas Townshend (created lord Sydney), were at the same time nominated secretaries of state; lord Thurlow was reinstated as lord chancellor; earl Gower as president of the council; the duke of Rutland was constituted lord privy seal; lord Howe placed at the head of the admiralty, and the duke of Richmond of the ordnance. The earl of Northington was recalled from his government of Ireland, to

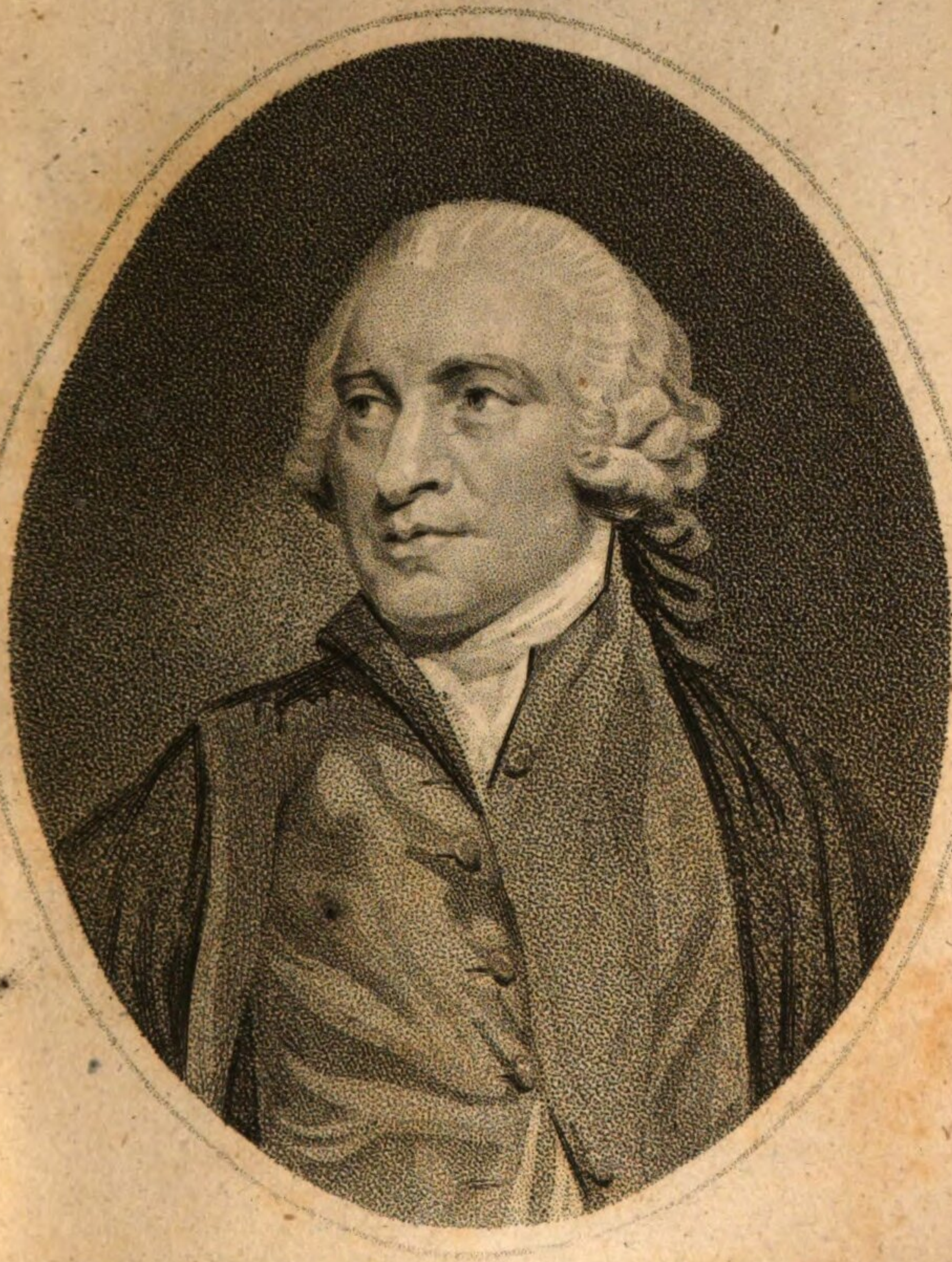
* The bill is however supposed to have been the production of Mr. Burke.

which lord Temple, who had retained the seals of secretary only three days, was again destined to succeed. Mr. William Grenville and lord Mulgrave succeeded Mr. Burke in the pay-office, and Mr. Henry Dundas (the Mentor of Mr. Pitt) was appointed to the office of treasurer of the navy. Though the nation was surprised to find the earl of Shelburne not included in the new arrangement of administration, yet (from the mere detestation of the coalition) the intelligence of this change was received with considerable marks of general approbation.

On the 22d of December the house of commons, being in a committee on the state of the nation, Mr. Erskine moved, "That an address be presented to the king, stating, that alarming reports had gone forth of an intended dissolution of parliament, and humbly representing to his majesty the inconveniences and dangers of a prorogation or dissolution, in the present conjuncture; and entreating the sovereign to hearken to the advice of that house, and not to the secret advice of particular persons who might have private interests of their own, separate from the true interests of the king and people."

This address, which was of a complexion unknown in this country since the æra of the revolution, was carried without a division. The king gave an answer to it replete with temperance and discretion. His majesty said, "It had been his constant object to employ the authority entrusted to him by the constitution to its true and only end---the good of the people; and he was always happy in concurring with the wishes and opinion of his faithful commons. He trusted they would proceed in the important matters mentioned in their address with all convenient speed, assuring them that he should not interrupt their meeting after their adjournment, by any exercise of his prerogative either of prorogation or dissolution."

The house adjourned for the usual Christmas recess, during which the public waited with great anxiety for their reassembling; because a contest between the executive government and the house of commons was a spectacle, that, since the accession of the present family to
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RIGHT HON. H. DUNDAS .

the throne, had not been exhibited in this kingdom ; and the most formidable apprehensions were entertained from such a collision.

On the 12th of January 1784, the parliament reassembled. When the committee on the state of the nation was resumed, on a division of 232 to 193, the two following resolutions were moved and passed :

“ That it is the opinion of this committee, that for any person or persons in his majesty’s treasury, or in the exchequer, or in the bank of England, employed in the payment of the public money, to pay, or direct or cause to be paid, any sum or sums of money, for or towards the support of the services voted in this present session of parliament, after the parliament shall have been prorogued or dissolved, if it be prorogued or dissolved before any act of parliament shall have passed appropriating the supplies to such services, will be a high crime and misdemeanour, a daring breach of the public trust, derogatory to the fundamental privileges of parliament, and subversive of the constitution of this country.

“ That it is the opinion of this committee, that the chairman of the committee be directed to move the house, that the bill for punishing mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters, be read a second time on Monday the 23d day of February next.”

The immediate dissolution of parliament being thus far rendered impracticable, two resolutions, of a more direct and hostile nature, were moved by the earl of Surrey. The first was in the following terms ; “ That in the present situation of his majesty’s dominions, it was peculiarly necessary that there should be an administration which had the confidence of that house and the public.”

It was objected to this resolution, that the name of his majesty had been, perhaps accidentally, certainly very improperly, omitted ; and it was proposed by Mr. Dundas to amend the motion, by inserting, instead of the words “ *this house and the public,*” the following, “ *the crown, the parliament, and the people.*” As this amendment

ment was merely proposed for the purpose of pointing out the factious spirit of the resolution, it was rejected without a division.

The second resolution moved by lord Surrey, was to the following purport; "That the late changes in his majesty's councils had been immediately preceded by dangerous and universal reports, that the sacred name of the king had been unconstitutionally used to affect the deliberations of parliament; and that the appointments made were accompanied by circumstances new and extraordinary, and such as did not conciliate or engage the confidence of that house."

The fact principally insisted upon as the ground of this resolution, was the rumour we have already related, respecting the communication made from the king to several peers, touching the India bill, through earl Temple. In answer to those who required some further proof of this transaction, it was remarked, that the fact could only be known to three parties; to the peers to whom the communication was made, to the great personage from whom it came, and to the noble earl who conveyed it: That it was not to be supposed the first should come voluntarily forward to divulge what might be considered as a confidential conversation, with the certainty of incurring the severest displeasure of the court: That if it were false, it might reasonably have been expected, that the ministers then in office would have received authority from his majesty to contradict a report so injurious to the honour of the crown: But, at all events, that the noble earl was bound, when he heard that the house was proceeding upon those reports, to come fairly within the bar, as other lords had done, at different periods of our history, and clear himself from so disgraceful an imputation.

Another fact was related to the committee by general Ross, which, though denied by a near relation of the party in the house, and never substantiated so fully as to ground any further proceedings thereon, yet appeared to have great weight in the determinations of the members. The matter was, that a few days before, one of the lords
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of his majesty's bedchamber, whom he afterwards named to be the earl of Galloway, had desired to see him at his house; where he told him, that if he voted against the new administration that day, he would be considered as an *enemy to the king*.

A warm debate took place upon this motion, in which the most pointed personalities were cast and retorted from both sides of the house. The coalition was branded as a corrupt confederacy of two desperate factions, to seize upon the government of the country; and the India bill was represented to have been an experiment made by the late secretary of state, with a view, if not to place the crown on his own head, at least to raise himself to a degree of power superior to that of the sovereign. On the other hand, the party composing the new administration was described as a coalition, not indeed of parties, but of the shreds and remnants, of the dregs and outcasts of parties; as a body collected for the purpose of fighting the battles of secret and unconstitutional influence, of trampling on the power and dignity of the house of commons, and of establishing a government of cabal, intrigue, and favouritism, and of destroying the very principles of laudable ambition and honourable service in the state. At length, about seven o'clock in the morning, the committee divided, for the motion 196, against it 54.

On the Wednesday following, the 14th of January, Mr. Pitt moved for leave to bring in "a bill for the better government and management of the affairs of the East India company." By this act commissioners were to be appointed by his majesty, from the members of his privy council, who were "authorised and empowered, from time to time, to check, superintend, and control, all acts operations, and concerns, which in any wise relate to the civil or military government or revenues of the territories and possessions of the said united company in the East Indies."

It then enacts, "that the said board shall have access to all papers and muniments of the said united company, and shall be furnished with copies thereof, and of all the proceedings of all general and special courts of proprie-

tors, and of the court of directors, and also copies of all despatches which the directors shall receive from any of their servants in the East Indies, immediately after the arrival thereof, and also copies of all letters, orders, and instructions whatsoever, relating to the civil or military government or revenues of the British territorial possessions in the East Indies, proposed to be sent to any of the servants of his majesty, or of the said company, in the East Indies; and that the court of directors shall and are required to pay due obedience to, and shall be governed and bound by such orders and directions as they shall, from time to time, receive from the said board, touching the civil or military government and revenue of the territories and possessions of the company."

And it is further enacted, "that the said board shall return the copies of the said despatches to the court of directors, with their approbation thereof, or their reasons at large for disapproving the same, together with instructions in respect thereto; and that the court of directors shall thereupon despatch and send the letters, orders, and instructions, so approved or amended, to their servants in India, without further delay; and no letters, orders, or instructions, until after such previous communication thereof to the said board, shall at any time be sent or despatched by the said directors to the East Indies, on any account or pretence whatsoever."

And it is further enacted, "that in case the said board shall send any orders which, in the opinion of the said court of directors, shall relate to points not connected with the civil or military government and revenues of the said territories and possessions in India, it shall be lawful for them to apply by petition to his majesty in council, touching such orders; and the decision of the council thereon shall be final and conclusive."

It then enacts, "that the nomination of the commanders in chief shall be vested in his majesty, and that the said commanders in chief shall always be second in council." It also vests in his majesty "the power to remove any governor-general, presidents, and members of the councils of any British settlements in India;" and enacts,

“ that all vacancies in the offices aforesaid shall be supplied by the court of directors, subject to the approbation of his majesty ; and in case the person nominated by the said court shall not be approved by his majesty, the said court shall proceed to nominate some other person, subject to the approbation or disallowance of his majesty, in the same manner as before directed, and so *toties quoties*, until some person or persons shall be nominated and appointed, who shall be approved by his majesty ; and in case the court of directors shall not, within days, proceed to supply the same, then it shall be lawful for his majesty to appoint a person to supply the office so vacant.”

“ It is further enacted, that no order or resolution of any general court of proprietors shall be available to revoke or rescind, or in any respect to affect, any proceeding of the court of directors, after his majesty’s pleasure shall have been signified upon the same.”

The debates on this bill turned principally on its merits and demerits, as compared with the India bill rejected in the house of lords. It was urged by Mr. Pitt, that in his bill all the rights enjoyed by the company, under their charter, were preserved inviolate, as far as was compatible with the public safety. When, in answer to this, it was shown, that nothing but the shadow of power was left to the company ; and that, by the negative reserved to the crown in all matters whatsoever, the substance was, in effect, vested there ; he contended, that whatever might be the effect of the bill, yet, having previously obtained the consent both of the court of proprietors and directors to all the regulations contained in it, no violation of privileges could be inferred, where there was a voluntary surrender of them. To this argument it was objected, that the consent of 250, the number of those who voted in the court of proprietors for the regulations in the bill, could not imply the consent of 1400, who compose the whole body of proprietors, especially in a case of property, where no delegation of the power of balloting could be communicated, and where a great part of the absent members had not an opportunity

nity to attend: But whatever weight might be allowed to the resolutions of the court of proprietors, they only proved, that of two evils, the more formal resumption of their authority by the first bill, or the indirect assumption of it by the last, they had chosen what they conceived to be the least.

The second point, in which the new bill differed from the former, was this, that it left where it found all the patronage of the company, the appointment of the commander in chief excepted. The fallacy of this pretence was, on the other side, strongly maintained: The whole military patronage, it was said, would almost necessarily follow the appointment of the commander in chief. The negative given to the crown in the appointment of the governors and council would, by a judicious management, enable the minister in reality, though not in form, to nominate the whole; and every member, both civil and military, being made removeable at the will of the crown, would naturally become subservient to its views and interests.

In the former bill, the transferring the entire government of the company's affairs to the new board, the nomination of commissioners in parliament, and the permanent duration of their authority for a term of four years, had occasioned great alarm, as creating a new power dangerous to the constitution. The object of the present bill was merely control; and the exercise of that control, like every other branch of the executive government, was referred to the discretion of the crown. In answer to this, it was observed, in the first place, that to leave one set of men, who had not only been convicted of having notoriously abused their power, but were universally allowed to be unfit for the trust reposed in them, in the possession of dominion, merely for the purpose of being controlled by another, was to establish disunion and weakness in government upon system. The notable expedient provided in this case, of an appeal from the king's privy council to the king in council, was ridiculed with great success. In the second place, it was argued, that the proposed regulations tended to confound
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one of the strongest principles of good government, that of responsibility. The court of directors certainly stood foremost in the ostensible government of the company; but it was to make them responsible for orders and instructions which they might be obliged to sign, contrary to their judgment and their conscience. Lastly, it was strenuously maintained, on the same ground that had before been taken in the debate on the rejected bill, that no effectual system of regulation could be devised, in which an independent and permanent power was not lodged in the persons who were to be intrusted with the execution of it.

The bill was read a second time on the 23d of January; and on the motion for its being committed, the house divided, ayes 214, noes 222. The bill being thus rejected, Mr. Fox gave notice of his intentions to bring in another bill relative to the same object; in which, without departing from the leading principle of the first bill, that of establishing a responsible and permanent government at home, he should endeavour to accommodate the rest to the wishes of those who appeared to have taken what he conceived to be a very groundless alarm at his former propositions. This notice was received with great satisfaction by the house; but the events which followed prevented their proceeding further upon it.

The discussion of the bill for regulating the affairs of the East India company, on the 16th of January, did not prevent the house of commons from adverting, in the mean time, to the general state of public affairs. The resolution, which passed on the 12th of January, would probably, at any other period, have operated decisively against the ministry; but the stake was too deep to be hastily thrown away; and an attempt was therefore made to evade the consequences of that vote, by considering it as too generally worded to convey any direct censure on the members of the present administration. In order therefore to bring the point to a more direct issue, the following resolution was moved by lord Charles Spencer, in the committee *on the state of the nation*:

“ That it having been declared to be the opinion of this house, that in the present situation of his majesty's dominions, it is peculiarly necessary there should be an administration that has the confidence of this house, and of the public; and that the appointments of his majesty's present ministers were accompanied by circumstances new and extraordinary, and such as do not conciliate or engage the confidence of this house; the continuance of the present ministers in trusts of the highest importance and responsibility, is contrary to constitutional principles, and injurious to the interests of his majesty and his people.”

In opposition to this motion, it was argued, that the premises, allowing them to be true and well founded, did not warrant the conclusion, since the present ministers were not even accused of having had any share in the transactions alluded to. They had been constitutionally appointed by his majesty, who had the sole right to appoint them; and though it was not denied that a majority of the house was competent to declare their want of confidence in ministers so appointed, yet they were bound in duty to allege good and sufficient grounds for such a declaration; otherwise the nation would justly consider it not as a constitutional question, but as a daring assumption of the prerogative of the crown, and a factious attempt in such a majority to nominate their own ministers, --- In answer to these arguments it was proved, from various precedents, that the house of commons had frequently passed votes of censure on ministers, without alleging any specific acts as the grounds of such censure. But without having recourse to this authority, it was asserted, that the reasons adduced in the motion were full and sufficient. That the present ministers did not possess the confidence of the house, was a fact recorded on the journals. It would be vain and fruitless to fight over again, on every occasion, the grounds on which that resolution was voted; and if the deliberative opinion of a decided majority, on a great public question, and in the exercise of their undoubted privileges, deserved the appellation of *factions*, by what epithets was the conduct
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of the minority to be described, who were attempting to weaken the authority, and to overawe and control the general sense of the body, of which they made a part?

In the course of the debate, Mr. Powys expressed his wishes for an union between the contending parties, as the only means of saving the constitution from the shock it was otherwise likely to receive. No notice was taken by Mr. Pitt of this overture; and Mr. Fox declared, that until the right honourable gentleman, by quitting the situation, which in the opinion of that house he had obtained by unconstitutional means, and which he seemed inclined to maintain in defiance of their resolutions, had made an *amende honorable* for his offence, and thus qualified himself to return to it on fair, open, and honourable grounds, he would never consent to act with him. On the division there appeared for the resolution 205, against it 184.

The public expectation was now fixed on two important events, the one or other of which it was supposed would be the necessary consequence of the last vote of the house of commons; namely, the resignation of the ministers, or the dissolution of parliament. On the 20th of January, the day appointed for the committee again to sit *on the state of the nation*, there was a general call amongst the members, called country gentlemen, for a coalition. Mr. Fox persevered in the sentiments he had before delivered, but declared his readiness to put off the committee, that no hasty steps might be taken; at the same time he was of opinion, that the chancellor of the exchequer was bound to give some explanation of the very extraordinary conduct he had thought proper to adopt. Mr. Pitt acknowledged that his situation was new and extraordinary; but had no doubt, that whenever the proper time came for stating his reasons to the house, why he continued in office after the resolution passed on the 16th, he should make it appear that he had been actuated by a strict sense of his duty.

The rejection of Mr. Pitt's India bill, which took place, as was before related, on the 23d of January, was generally

generally considered as the concluding act of the present house of commons. As soon as the division was over, the minister was desired to give the house some satisfaction respecting a measure in which they were so nearly concerned; and, on his remaining silent, a loud and general call was repeated from every side of the house. At length some harsh expressions, used by general Conway, relative to his conduct, obliged him to rise; but, after some warm remonstrances on the treatment he had received, he concluded with a flat refusal to answer the interrogatories that were put to him. Several of the members who usually voted with him, now joined in the general request, but in vain. The house grew unusually warm, and Mr. Eden was preparing to move the following resolution:

“That for any of his majesty’s confidential ministers in that house, to refuse to the house an explanation of the sense in which such minister understands a speech or an answer of his majesty, is contrary to the ancient and uniform practice of former ministers; and tends to produce unnecessary applications to his majesty; and is disrespectful to his majesty and to the house:” When Mr. Fox interfered, and recommended an adjournment, that the right honourable gentleman might have time to recollect himself, and consider whether he had treated the house with that respect which might be expected from a minister standing in his peculiar circumstances.

On the following day, Saturday, as soon as Mr. Pitt had taken his place, Mr. Powys rose, and after lamenting with tears the extraordinary and disgraceful scene he had been a witness to not long before, and thanking the member who had so generously put an end to it, he proposed the following question to the minister:---*Whether he could pledge himself that the house should meet there in parliament on Monday next?* After a short pause, Mr. Pitt got up, and said, that he saw no reason for receding from his resolution of refusing to pledge himself as to any advice he might or might not, under any possible circumstances, think proper to give his majesty; but with
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regard to the present question, he thought he might venture to say, that he had no intention to advise his majesty to prevent that house from meeting on Monday.

Having received this assurance, Mr. Powys moved, that the house should immediately adjourn to Monday the 26th, in hopes that before their next meeting some means might be invented of healing divisions that threatened the country with anarchy and confusion. This motion was accordingly agreed to.

On that day his majesty's answer to the address of the house being read by the clerk, the following motion was made by Mr. Eden, with a view to give the house a more permanent security than the precarious mode of existence it then enjoyed only from day to day:

“That it appears to this house, that his majesty's said most gracious answer contains assurances upon which this house cannot but most firmly rely---That his majesty will not, by the prorogation or dissolution of parliament, interrupt this house in their consideration of proper measures for regulating the affairs of the East India company, and for supporting the public credit and revenues of this country; objects which, in the opinion of his majesty, and of this house, and of the public, demand the most immediate and unremitting attention of parliament.”

As soon as the motion was read, Mr. Pitt declared, that his majesty had indeed pledged himself in his answer not to interrupt their meeting again after their adjournment; but he saw not how it could be inferred, that the royal word was pledged any farther. To a motion therefore affixing an unlimited construction to the king's answer, he must give his dissent; and that for the strongest reason that could possibly be adduced, namely, because he knew when he advised his majesty to use the words in which the answer was framed, he never had such an indefinite sense of them in his contemplation. In the present situation of affairs, he thought a dissolution could not but be attended with great detriment and mischief, and therefore he should not advise any such exercise of the prerogative.

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The minister was then called upon to fulfil the engagement he had entered into with the house, of giving them some satisfactory reasons for his continuing in office after the repeated resolutions that had passed against him. In compliance with this requisition, Mr. Pitt began by asserting, that though the situation of a minister maintaining his post, after the house of commons had declared him undeserving of their confidence, was novel and extraordinary, yet it was in his opinion by no means unconstitutional. He conceived that, by the constitution, neither the immediate appointment or removal of a minister rested with that house; that he neither could nor ought to remain long in such a situation, he was ready to confess; but he was bound to use his own discretion, in preventing the mischievous consequences that might attend an instant resignation. He might meritoriously continue in office, if he was persuaded that his resignation would leave the country without any executive government at all. It behoved him to consider who were likely to be his successors; and he was bound, in honour and in duty, so far to support the prerogative of the crown, as not to quit a situation, because it was become difficult or dangerous, till he saw some prospect of its being filled in a manner more acceptable to all the parties concerned.

About this time a ridiculous circumstance, brought forward by the precipitate zeal of the friends of the new ministry, for the purpose of retorting on their adversaries the charge of undue influence, engaged the attention of the house of commons.

On the 24th of this month, Mr. Yorke acquainted the house, that he had matters to communicate, in which their privileges were deeply concerned: The first was, that an offer had been made to a member of the house, of a place of 500l. a year, provided he would change sides, and give his vote in opposition to the present ministry; the second, that 500l. had been sent to Scotland by the same party, and lodged in the bank of Edinburgh, for the purpose of defraying the travelling expences, and thereby quickening the pace of the Scotch members; and that the lord advocate of Scotland, Mr. Henry Erskine, was

was the person to whom the disposal of the money was entrusted. Mr. Yorke having further acquainted the house, that the member, Mr. Dalrymple, from whom he received this intelligence, was then present, and ready to give the house any further satisfaction they might require, he was called on by opposition to mention the particulars. He accordingly related, that a Mr. Hamilton, of Bargeny, formerly a member of the house, had offered him a place, on the conditions before stated, of 500l. a year from the duke of Portland, or the Portland administration. With regard to the second story, he had been assured of the fact in a public company, by Mr. Charteris, a member not then in his place.

As soon as the intelligence was thus stated, the friends of the duke of Portland insisted that it should be taken down in writing by the clerk, in order to be fully investigated. A message was sent privately to the duke, to acquaint him with what had passed; in consequence of which he immediately repaired to the lobby, and desired the house might be acquainted that he was ready to come within their bar, and answer such questions relative to the subject as they might chuse to put to him. Several members suspecting that the whole matter might have originated in a jest, expressed their wishes that it might be dropped; but the members who had brought forward the charges, refusing their consent to a motion, in which it proposed to state *that the said charges had been wholly abandoned by them*, an order was made for the attendance of Mr. Hamilton.

A few days afterwards, Mr. Charteris being in his place, explained to the house the occasion of the jest which he had put upon his honourable friend, and which he was sorry to find had occasioned so much serious discussion: And it appearing, by a letter read to the house from the gentleman himself, that the offer of Mr. Hamilton had arisen from the same mirthful disposition, the order for his attendance was discharged, and the following motion agreed to:

“ That it appears to this house, that the charges contained in the said information [the same having been previously

viously read by the clerk] respecting the duke of Portland and the late administration, were groundless."

As the grounds, on which the minister endeavoured to defend his continuance in office, after three several votes of disapprobation had passed the house of commons, amounted in fact to nothing more than that *he* was of opinion his remaining in power was serviceable to the country, though *the house* chose to think otherwise, it is scarcely necessary to add, that they appeared to the majority wholly unsatisfactory. The next step therefore, which in the course of parliamentary proceedings ought regularly to have been adopted, was an address to the throne, to remove him from his majesty's councils; and such a measure, by bringing the contest to an immediate decision, would, at all events, have rescued the government of the country from the disgraceful situation in which it then stood. But as, on the one hand, the strong and decided opposition of the country gentlemen to a dissolution of parliament seems to have overawed the minister into the dereliction of a step so necessary on his part; so, on the other hand, their general call for an union prevented the opposition from pursuing those measures of vigour, which the constitution of parliament, in concurrence with their own interest, obviously required.

On the 26th of January, a meeting of such members of the house of commons as were anxious to promote a coalition of parties met at the St. Alban's tavern. Their numbers amounted to near seventy; and an address was immediately agreed to and signed, and ordered to be presented by a committee of their body to the duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt.

The address was expressed in the following terms:

"We whose names are hereunto signed, members of the house of commons, being fully persuaded that the united efforts of those in whose integrity, abilities, and constitutional principles we have reason to confide, can alone rescue the country from its present distracted state, do join in most humbly entreating them to communicate with each other on the arduous situation of public affairs, trusting, that by a liberal and unreserved intercourse between

tween them, every impediment may be removed to a cordial co-operation of great and respectable characters, acting on the same public principles, and entitled to the support of independent and disinterested men."

In answer to this address, both parties expressed themselves desirous of complying with the wishes of so respectable a meeting; but the duke of Portland conceived that he could not have any interview with Mr. Pitt, for the purpose of union, so long as the latter held his situation as prime minister, in defiance of the resolutions of the house of commons. On the other hand, Mr. Pitt declined resigning, either actually or virtually, as a preliminary to negotiation.

In order to co-operate with and assist the exertions of the meeting at the St. Alban's, on the 2d of February it was moved by one of their members, and carried unanimously in the house of commons, "That the present arduous and critical situation of public affairs required the exertions of a firm, efficient, extended, and united administration, entitled to the confidence of the people, and such as might have a tendency to put an end to the unfortunate divisions and distractions of this country."

In addition to this, a second resolution was moved by Mr. Coke, which had for its object the reprehension of Mr. Pitt's refusal to resign, declaring, "that the continuance of the present ministers in office was an obstacle to the forming a firm, efficient, extended, and united administration."

This last motion occasioned much debate. The ground on which it was combated, was the growing popularity of the new administration, and the house was therefore adjured not to provoke the people to go to the foot of the throne, and implore the crown to rescue them from its tyranny. On the other side, it was asserted that the popularity of the ministers was founded on a temporary delusion, and supported by artful misrepresentations and gross calumnies: That the design to create a dissension between that house and the people at large, was of a nature the most alarming and dangerous to the constitution, and a daring attack upon the privileges of the house, which, if not firmly resisted, would terminate in the destruction

struction of the liberties of the nation. Mr. Pitt threw himself on the candour and justice of the house; but declared firmly, that he would not by any management be induced to resign. To march out of his post with a halter about his neck, change his armour, and meanly beg to be re-admitted, and considered as a volunteer in the army of the enemy, was an humiliation to which he would never submit. Some of the members, who still continued their endeavours to effect a coalition, wished the previous question to be put on the motion, with a view to try whether the house would consent to rescind the votes of censure they had before passed, as a matter of accommodation; declaring, if this was not done, they should consider themselves as bound to support the present question: That those resolutions and the present administration ought not to stand together; that the authority of the house must be supported, and that the pride of an individual ought not to stand in the way of it. On the division there were 223 for the motion, against it 204.

The day following the resolutions, after a long and warm debate, in which the same ground was gone over as before, were ordered, by a majority of 24, to be laid before his majesty.

The step taken by the house of commons would probably have brought the contest between the two parties to a speedy decision, if the members, who met at the St. Alban's tavern, had not checked it by a declaration, which, coming from so powerful a body, almost forced affairs again into a state of suspense and indecision.

On the 11th of February, Mr. Marsham read to the house, as a part of his speech, a resolution of the members of the meeting at the St. Alban's tavern, in which they declared, "that an administration formed on the total exclusion of the members of the last or present administration would be inadequate to the exigencies of the public affairs."

This declaration gave occasion to the leading persons on both sides to deliver their sentiments, respecting the so much desired coalition. Mr. Fox, after expressing his sincere wishes for an union, again insisted on the resignation of the chancellor of the exchequer, or at least on his
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declaring that the present administration was virtually and substantially dissolved, as an indispensable preliminary step. He did not scruple, he said, to avow his opinion, that the house of commons had, and ought to have, a real and substantial negative in the nomination of ministers of state: The conduct of the right honourable gentleman militated directly against this position; and therefore, however desirable an union on almost any terms might be, yet he conceived it would be infinitely overbalanced by the mischief of establishing a precedent, which, if pursued, would render the house of commons worse than useless. This sacrifice to the constitution, which had been so grossly violated, must be absolutely required from him; all other points, Mr. Fox conceived, might be easily adjusted.

Mr. Pitt declared, that, for the reasons already given by him, he could not recede from his former determination. He allowed, that no minister could in fact continue long in office that did not possess the confidence of that house, but he denied that there were any constitutional means to force him to resign. The proper method of effecting his removal was by an address to the crown; till, in consequence of such a measure, the king should think proper to remove him from his office, he held it neither illegal nor unconstitutional to retain it. With regard to other and subordinate considerations, he confessed that there might be persons with whom he could not possibly bring himself to act, without forfeiting that character of consistency which other gentlemen he thought had too much undervalued. If such persons there were, and they would consent to sacrifice their views, and to remove themselves out of the way of union, he thought they would do themselves honour, and merit the thanks of their country.

These allusions called up lord North, to whom they were manifestly pointed. He said, that though he did not feel in himself the least disposition to gratify the caprice or the unjust prejudices of any individual; yet, what he should be unwilling to do for the right honourable minister, he was willing and ready to do for his country:

That if his pretensions should be deemed any obstacle to an union, he should rejoice in removing it; but he apprehended that not himself, but the chancellor of the exchequer, stood in the way of union, since it appeared that nothing was now wanting for that salutary end, but that the right honourable gentleman should pay a just and dutiful respect to the resolutions of that house, by retiring from a situation which he both obtained and held on principles they had repeatedly condemned.

The highest applauses were bestowed on lord North for his noble and disinterested conduct, particularly by the leaders of the St. Alban's assembly, who called loudly on Mr. Pitt, but in vain, to yield to the pressing exigencies of his country.

Notwithstanding the discouraging circumstances which appeared in the above debate, the associated members still continued their endeavours to effect an union. They returned their unanimous thanks to lord North and Mr. Fox for their open, candid, and manly declarations of their willingness to conciliate the differences subsisting between the contending parties, and an expedient was at length suggested, which, without any concession of principle on either side, but only a concession of mode, it was hoped might lead to an amicable negotiation: This was, that the duke of Portland should be requested by the king to have a conference with Mr. Pitt for the purpose of forming a new administration.

This proposition was acceded to; and a message was accordingly sent by Mr. Pitt to the duke, in which he acquainted him, that he was commanded to signify to him "his majesty's earnest desire, that his grace should have a personal conference with Mr. Pitt, for the purpose of forming a new administration on a wide basis, and on *fair and equal terms*."

This message was perfectly satisfactory to the duke of Portland as to the mode proposed, but he wished to have the terms of the message perfectly understood between him and Mr. Pitt previous to the conference. The word *fair* he had no objection to; it was a general term, and they might, in framing the arrangement, mutually dis-

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cuss what each considered to be fair : But the word *equal* was a limited and specific term, and therefore he wished to know from Mr. Pitt to what particular object it was intended to be applied. It seemed to promise slender hopes of a real union, and had the appearance of forming an arrangement more on the idea of having equal numbers of each party in the cabinet, than on mutual confidence and unity of principles. Mr. Pitt replied, that the word objected to would be best explained at their conference, and declined all further preliminary discussions. Two other proposals were offered by the duke of Portland; the first, that he should be permitted to construe the message of Mr. Pitt to imply a virtual resignation; the second, that he might receive his majesty's commands relative to the conference from the sovereign in person: but they were both refused.

Thus ended all hopes of a coalition of parties; and the meeting at the St. Alban's closed their efforts with declaring, "That they heard, with infinite concern, that all further progress towards an union was prevented by a doubt respecting a single word; and that they were unanimously of opinion that it would be no dishonourable step in either of the gentlemen to give way, and might be highly advantageous to the public welfare."—It must, however, be confessed, that the attempt itself, though highly applauded in general, was considered by some as futile and absurd; that it did not promise any solid or permanent system, and that it contributed in a considerable degree, by inducing delay and indecision, to aggravate the mischief it was designed to remedy.

On the 18th of February the chancellor of the exchequer being asked, previous to the consideration of supply for the service of the ordnance, whether he had any thing to communicate to the house relative to the resolutions that had been laid before the king, informed the house, "That his majesty, after a consideration of all the circumstances of the country, had not thought proper to dismiss his ministers, and that his ministers had not resigned."

This intimation brought on a long and warm debate. The attention of the house was called to it in the most solemn manner. It was said to be the first instance, since the revolution, of a direct denial on the part of the crown to comply with the wishes of the house of commons; that it was the first time the house had not received a gracious answer from a prince of the house of Brunswick; that it was a matter of melancholy, but most weighty consideration, that persons had been found capable of advising his majesty to depart from the uniform practice of his ancestors, from that line of conduct under which the country had grown great, and rich, and powerful; and that an event so new and alarming required, on their part, a firm but moderate, a prudent but effectual assertion of their privileges: That the power of granting or refusing the supplies was the constitutional shield of their authority; and that to this, if it should at last be found necessary, they were bound to have resort; but to avoid all imputation of rashness or violence, and to leave his majesty's ministers time to recollect themselves, it was only proposed to defer the report of the ordnance estimates till the Friday following.

The mention of *refusing the supplies* was received by the other side of the house as a threat, which even the utmost madness of faction, it was said, could not seriously design to execute. The very right of such a refusal was questioned. The exercise of this privilege, in former times, was founded on principles which, it was contended, did not now exist. The settled revenues of the crown were then sufficient for all the ordinary purposes of the executive government, without an annual application to parliament; and it was only on extraordinary demands, such as for the prosecution of wars disapproved of by parliament, that the right of refusal was exercised; whereas, in the present state of our government, to deny the ordinary annual supply, would be, in fact, to dissolve the whole fabric of government.

The chancellor of the exchequer, without denying the right of refusing supplies in cases of necessity, contented himself with appealing to the justice of the house, whether
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his majesty's refusal to dismiss his ministers, because that house had thought proper to condemn them without a trial, was a justifiable ground for the exercise of it. On the division there appeared for postponing the supplies 208, against it 196.

As the service of the ordnance could not suffer any inconvenience by deferring from time to time the report on the estimates of that establishment, it appears to have been the design of the leaders of opposition to have pursued that plan, as the most constitutional method of giving effect to the resolutions of the house of commons. On the other hand, the country gentlemen, though they had given up all hopes of effecting a coalition, and were extremely adverse, on the same principles, to the continuance of the ministers in office, yet they were not willing to support a measure that had the smallest appearance of forcing matters to extremities. It seems, therefore, to have been agreed on, as a sort of compromise, that the supplies should be suffered by opposition to proceed in their usual course, and that the country party should take the lead in endeavouring to effect a removal of the ministry by an application to the throne.

On the 20th of February, an address was accordingly moved by Mr. Powis, to express "the reliance of the house on his majesty's royal wisdom, that he would take such measures as might tend to give effect to the wishes of his faithful commons, which had been already most humbly presented to his majesty;"---and to this it was afterwards, on the motion of Mr. Eden, agreed to add, "by removing any obstacle to the formation of such an administration as the house has described to be requisite in the present critical and arduous state of public affairs." This address was carried by a majority of twenty-one.

The house of lords, after the rejection of the India bill, as if exhausted by so unusual an effort, beheld the struggles and dissensions of the house of commons rather as a spectator, than as a part of the constitution deeply concerned in the result. In order to break through this silence, which, at so critical a time, was neither calculated

lated to support the dignity of the house nor the interest of the minister, the earl of Effingham, on the 4th of February, moved two resolutions in opposition to those moved in the house of commons on the 24th of December and the 16th of January :

1st. “ That an attempt of any one branch of the legislature, to suspend the execution of law, by separately assuming to itself the direction of a discretionary power, which, by act of parliament, is vested in any body of men, to be exercised as they shall think expedient, is unconstitutional.

2d. “ That by the known principles of this constitution, the undoubted authority of appointing to the great offices of executive government was solely vested in the king, and that that house had every reason to place the firmest reliance in his majesty’s wisdom in the exercise of this prerogative.”

These counter-resolutions were objected to by the friends of the late ministry, as being in their nature productive of jealousy and animosities between the two houses.

With regard to the first, it was stated, that the house of commons had a peculiar cognizance of all matters relating to the revenues, and that any interference of the lords was a matter ever objected to and disallowed by the other house. The second resolution was undoubtedly true, as an abstract proposition ; but if it was to lead to no consequences, it was an idle waste of words unbecoming their lordships’ dignity ; if it was to be applied as a censure on the house of commons, the consequences of it would be no other than discord between the two houses, and a dissolution of parliament.

On the other hand, the resolutions were supported on this ground ; that though any branch of the legislature was empowered to declare its sentiments on every subject, yet the resolutions of the house of commons assuming in one instance directly to control a legal discretionary power, and in the other infringing upon the king’s prerogative, with a view to restrain him from the choice of his own ministers, the house of lords was called upon to express its abhorrence of such alarming proceedings.

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The resolutions, after a short debate, passed by a considerable majority.

The house of commons suffered this attack on its resolutions, without being betrayed into any violence or intemperance; and what at a more settled time might have been productive of the most pointed remonstrances, was now proceeded in with much caution and forbearance.--- To come to an open rupture with the lords at this critical juncture of affairs might afford a specious plea for a dissolution of parliament; and the house accordingly contented itself with moving for a "committee to examine into the usage of either house of parliament in regard to the interposing in the exercise of discretionary powers, vested in the servants of the crown, or in any body of men, for public purposes." A variety of precedents were selected and reported by this committee from the journals of the house of commons, similar to the resolutions objected to by the lords, and in consequence of the report the house passed the six following resolutions: "That the house had not assumed to itself a right to suspend the execution of the law:---That for them to declare their opinion respecting the exercise of any discretionary power, was constitutional, and agreeable to established usage:---That it was a duty peculiarly incumbent upon them to watch over, and endeavour to prevent, the rash and precipitate exercise of any power, which might be attended with danger to public credit and loss to the revenue:---That the resolution of the 24th of December constituted a judicious and regular discharge of an indispensable duty:---That had the house neglected to make a similar provision in the critical situation of public affairs, they must have been responsible to their constituents for the most alarming consequences:---and, That the house would moderately and firmly assert their privileges, and persevere in the conscientious discharge of what they owed to the nation and to posterity."

On the 25th of February the address of the commons was presented to the king, and on the 27th the speaker reported to the house his majesty's answer; in which,
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after assuring them of his earnest desire to put an end to the divisions and distractions of the country, and reminding them of the recent endeavours he had used for that purpose, he declares that he cannot see that it would in any degree be advanced by the dismissal of those at present in his service. He observes, that no charge or complaint is suggested against his ministers, nor is any one or more of them specifically objected to; and, on the other hand, that numbers of his subjects had expressed to him the utmost satisfaction on the change of his councils. Under these circumstances, he trusted the house would not wish for the removal of his present ministers, till there was some prospect that such an union as had been called for might be carried into effect.

The consideration of his majesty's answer was deferred to the first of March, on which day a second address was ordered to be prepared; in which, after acknowledging his majesty's gracious endeavours to give effect to the object of their late resolutions, they lament that the failure of those endeavours should be considered as a final bar to the accomplishment of so salutary and desirable a purpose, and express their concern and disappointment that his majesty had not been advised to take any farther step towards uniting in the public service those whose joint efforts recently appeared to his majesty most capable of producing so happy an effect: They represent that the house, with all humility, claims it as their right, and on every proper occasion feels it to be their bounden duty, to advise his majesty touching the exercise of any branch of his royal prerogative; and, after stating the substance of their former resolutions, the address concludes with declaring, "That as his majesty's faithful commons, upon the maturest deliberation, cannot but consider the continuance of the present ministers as an insurmountable obstacle to his majesty's gracious purpose to comply with their wishes, in the formation of such an administration as his majesty, in concurrence with the unanimous resolution of this house, seems to think requisite in the present exigencies of the country, they feel themselves bound to remain firm in the wish expressed to his majesty

jeſty in their late humble addreſs; and do therefore find themſelves obliged again to beſeech his majeſty, that he would be graciously pleaſed to lay the foundation of a ſtrong and ſtable government, by the previous removal of his preſent miniſters.”

The neceſſity of preſenting this addreſs was inferred from the evidence that had appeared of a ſettled plan, formed by the ſecret adviſers of the crown, for degrading the weight and importance of the houſe of commons, by deſtroying that confidence which the people ought naturally to reſide in their representatives. Previous to the year 1782, this object was purſued through the means of a corrupt influence within the houſe, exerciſed in the ſupport of certain miniſters and of certain meaſures odious to the nation at large. At this time the petitions of the people were treated with ſcorn and neglect, and it was ſtrongly maintained, that in the houſe of commons only was the ſenſe of the people to be collected. But when by the bill, called Mr. Burke's bill, and other acts, that paſſed in the year 1782, the influence of the crown in that houſe was almoſt entirely deſtroyed, it became neceſſary to have reſort to other principles. The houſe of commons was now to be degraded, and its reſolutions to be deſpiſed and trampled upon; and the people were artfully incited to appeal from the natural guardians of their liberties to the very power, againſt the encroachments of which they were inſtituted to protect them.

Three points in his majeſty's anſwer to the laſt addreſs were particularly animadverted upon. The firſt, “That no charge or complaint had been ſuggeſted againſt his miniſters.” On this it was remarked, that the charge obviously implied againſt the preſent miniſters being, their not poſſeſſing the confidence of that houſe, his majeſty had therein been adviſed to declare, that he did not conſider ſuch a want of confidence as any diſqualiſication for the public ſervice. The ſecond was, “That numbers of his ſubjects had expreſſed their ſatiſfaction at the changes he had made in his councils.” This was objected to, as leading to a moſt alarming innovation in the conſtitution; It was proved, from examples in the
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reign of James the second, that addressees might be procured in support of measures of the most dangerous tendency ; and it was contended, that to suffer ministers to appeal, at their own option, either from parliament to the people at large, or from the people to their representatives, would be to establish a precedent subversive of the very form as well as essence of the constitution. Thirdly, it was stated in the answer, “ That his majesty could not dismiss his present ministers until he saw a prospect of such an union as the house had recommended.” The only obstacle, it was said, that stood in the way of such an union, was the continuance of those ministers in office ; this had been expressly voted by the house, and therefore it was a mockery to hold out that object as the reason for retaining them, which could only be obtained by their dismissal.

In answer to these observations, the advocates of administration insisted principally on the smallness of the majority by which the resolutions of the house had been carried, and on the growing popularity of the ministers abroad. The necessity of resisting any encroachment upon the prerogative of the crown was also strongly urged, and of preserving that balance in the several branches of the legislature, to which the beauty, the permanence, and all the envied advantages of the British constitution were ascribed.—The address was carried by a majority of twelve.

On the fourth the address was presented to the king, and an answer returned to the following effect :

“ Gentlemen,

“ I have already expressed to you how sensible I am of the advantages to be derived from such an administration as was pointed out in your unanimous resolution ; and I assured you, that I was desirous of taking every step most conducive to such an object.

“ I remain in the same sentiments ; but I continue equally convinced, that it is an object not likely to be obtained by the dismissal of my present ministers.

“ I must repeat, that no charge, or complaint, nor any specific objection, is yet made against any of them.

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“ If there were any such ground for their removal at present, it ought to be equally a reason for not admitting them as a part of that extended and united administration you state to be requisite.

“ I did not consider the failure of my recent endeavours as a final bar to the accomplishment of the purpose which I had in view, if it could have been attained on those principles of fairness and equality, without which it can neither be honourable to those who are concerned, nor lay the foundation of such a strong and stable government as may be of lasting advantage to the country ; but I know of no farther steps which I can take, that are likely to remove the difficulties which obstruct that desirable end.

“ I have never called in question the right of my faithful commons to offer me their advice on every proper occasion, touching the exercise of any branch of my prerogative. I shall be ready, at all times, to receive, and give it the most attentive consideration: They will ever find me disposed to show my regard to the true principles of the constitution, and to take such measures as may best conduce to the satisfaction and prosperity of my people.”

“ The consideration of the answer was deferred to the eighth of March, when the following representation was ordered to be presented to the king :

“ That an humble representation be presented to his majesty, most humbly to testify the surprise and affliction of this house on receiving the answer which his majesty's ministers have advised to the dutiful and seasonable address of this house, concerning one of the most important acts of his majesty's government.

“ To express our concern, that when his majesty's paternal goodness has graciously inclined his majesty to be sensible of the advantage to be derived from such an administration as was pointed out in our resolution, his majesty should still be induced to prefer the opinions of individuals to the repeated advice of the representatives of his people in parliament assembled, with respect to the means of obtaining so desirable an end.

“ To represent to his majesty that a preference of this nature is as injurious to the true interests of the crown, as it is wholly repugnant to the spirit of our free constitution ; that systems founded on such a preference are not in truth entirely new in this country ; that they have been the characteristic features of those unfortunate reigns, the maxims of which are now justly and universally exploded ; while his majesty and his royal progenitors have been fixed in the hearts of their people, and have commanded the respect and admiration of all the nations of the earth, by a constant and uniform attention to the advice of their commons, however adverse such advice may have been to the opinions of the executive servants of the crown.

“ To assure his majesty that we neither have disputed, nor mean, in any instance, to dispute, much less to deny, his majesty's undoubted prerogative of appointing to the executive offices of state such persons as to his majesty's wisdom shall seem meet : But, at the same time, that we must, with all humility, again submit to his majesty's royal wisdom, that no administration, however legally appointed, can serve his majesty and the public with effect, which does not enjoy the confidence of this house : That in his majesty's present administration we cannot confide : The circumstances under which it was constituted, and the grounds upon which it continues, have created just suspicions in the breasts of his faithful commons, that principles are adopted, and views entertained, unfriendly to the privileges of this house, and to the freedom of our excellent constitution : That we have made no charge against any of them, because it is their removal, and not their punishment, which we have desired ; and that we humbly conceive we are warranted, by the ancient usage of this house, to desire such removal without making any charge whatever : That confidence may be very prudently withheld, where no criminal process can be properly instituted : That although we have made no criminal charge against any individual of his majesty's ministers, yet, with all humility, we do conceive, that we have stated to his majesty very distinct objections, and very forcible reasons,

reasons, against their continuance: That with regard to the propriety of admitting either the present ministers, or any other persons, as a part of that extended and united administration, which his majesty, in concurrence with the sentiments of this house, considers as requisite; it is a point upon which we are too well acquainted with the bounds of our duty, to presume to offer any advice to his majesty; well knowing it to be the undoubted prerogative of his majesty to appoint his ministers without any previous advice from either house of parliament; and our duty humbly to offer to his majesty our advice, when such appointments shall appear to us to be prejudicial to the public service.

“To acknowledge, with gratitude, his majesty’s goodness, in not considering the failure of his recent endeavours as a final bar to the accomplishment of the gracious purpose which his majesty has in view, and to express the great concern and mortification with which we find ourselves obliged to declare, that the consolation which we should naturally have derived from his majesty’s most gracious disposition, is considerably abated by understanding that his majesty’s advisers have not thought fit to suggest to his majesty any farther steps to remove the difficulties which obstruct so desirable an end.

“To recal to his majesty’s recollection, that his faithful commons have already submitted to his majesty, most humbly, but most distinctly, their opinion upon the subject; that they can have no interests but those of his majesty and of their constituents; whereas it is needless to suggest to his majesty’s wisdom and discernment, that individual advisers may be actuated by very different motives.

“To express our most unfeigned gratitude for his majesty’s royal assurances that he does not call in question the right of this house to offer their advice to his majesty on every proper occasion, touching the exercise of any branch of his royal prerogative, and of his majesty’s readiness, at all times, to receive such advice, and to give it the most attentive consideration.

“ To declare that we recognize in these gracious expressions those excellent and constitutional sentiments, which we have ever been accustomed to hear from the throne since the glorious æra of the revolution, and which have peculiarly characterized his majesty, and the princes of his illustrious house ; but to lament that these most gracious expressions, while they inspire us with additional affection and gratitude towards his majesty’s royal person, do not a little contribute to increase our suspicions of those men who have advised his majesty, in direct contradiction to these assurances, to neglect the advice of his commons, and to retain in his service an administration, whose continuance in office we have so repeatedly and so distinctly condemned.

“ To represent to his majesty, that it has anciently been the practice of this house to withhold supplies until grievances were redressed ; and that if we were to follow this course in the present conjuncture, we should be warranted in our proceeding, as well by the most approved precedents, as by the spirit of the constitution itself ; but if, in consideration of the very peculiar exigencies of the times, we should be induced to wave for the present the exercise, in this instance, of our undoubted legal and constitutional mode of obtaining redress, that we humbly implore his majesty not to impute our forbearance to any want of sincerity in our complaints, or distrust in the justice of our cause.

“ That we know, and are sure, that the prosperity of his majesty’s dominions in former times has been, under Divine Providence, owing to the harmony which has for near a century prevailed uninterruptedly between the crown and this house. That we are convinced that there is no way to extricate this country from its present difficulties, but by pursuing the same system to which we have been indebted at various periods of our history for our successes abroad, and which is at all times so necessary for our tranquillity at home. That we feel the continuance of the present administration to be an innovation upon that happy system.

“ That

“ That we cannot but expect, from their existence under the displeasure of this house, every misfortune naturally incident to a weak and distracted government; that if we had concealed from his majesty our honest sentiments upon this important crisis, we should have been in some degree responsible for the mischiefs which are but too certain to ensue.

“ That we have done our duty to his majesty and our constituents in pointing out the evil, and in humbly imploring redress: That the blame and responsibility must now lie wholly upon those who have presumed to advise his majesty to act in contradiction to the uniform maxims which have hitherto governed the conduct of his majesty, as well as every other prince of his illustrious house; upon those who have disregarded the opinions, and neglected the admonitions of the representatives of his people, and who have thereby attempted to set up a new system of executive administration, which, wanting the confidence of this house, and acting in defiance to our resolutions, must prove at once inadequate, by its inefficiency, to the necessary objects of government, and dangerous, by its example, to the liberties of the people.”

This representation was the last effort made by opposition, and was carried only by a majority of 191 to 190. If we consider all the circumstances of this extraordinary contest, it cannot but appear surprising [that so few instances should have happened of defection to the court party. The fixed determination that appeared early in the court to support the new administration, at all hazards; the terrors of a dissolution; a perseverance in the minister, insensible to consequences; the violent prejudices entertained without doors, and the cautious and indecisive conduct of opposition within, afforded no doubtful presages of the event. To a conviction of the justice and importance of the cause in which they were engaged, we are bound in candour to attribute this steadiness, in part; and some share of it may probably be ascribed to a high rival sense of honour in the several members of the coalition, desirous of rescuing that mea-

sure from the odium of its being founded merely on selfish and interested designs.

On the 10th of March the mutiny bill passed without a division.---A general report now prevailed, that parliament was to be immediately dissolved.---All the supplies had been regularly voted, to the amount of near ten millions, but, with the exception of the land and malt tax bills, no money had been raised or appropriated to specific services. It was, however, contended, that the voting of the supplies would be a sufficient justification to the ministry for issuing money for the necessary expenditure of government. On the other side it was urged, that the house having resolved that such issuing of the public money would be subversive of the constitution, and an high crime and misdemeanour, no plea of necessity could be available, since the emergency would be wilfully created by those who should advise his majesty to dissolve the parliament. The most pointed personalities were addressed to Mr. Pitt on this subject, but in vain; he persevered in an absolute refusal to discuss the points at all; and on the 24th of March the parliament was prorogued, and the day following dissolved by proclamation.

We have related the proceedings of this session of parliament somewhat at large, on account of their importance; for perhaps no parliament ever sat in Great Britain that was engaged in deliberations of greater magnitude, that caused more signal revolutions in the administration of public affairs, or that saw the principles of the constitution more violently agitated and shaken. The leading feature of its character was that of a reformer. In the second session a bill was passed for regulating the civil list establishments, by which thirty-six offices, tenable by members of parliament, were abolished, and an order of payment was framed, which rendered the accumulations of any future debt impracticable. On the same principle of reformation of their own house, connected with a principle of public œconomy, the commons passed an act for rendering contractors with government incapable of sitting in parliament. On the same principle, a
bill

bill was passed to disqualify all officers concerned in the collection of the revenue from voting in elections for members of parliament; and several other necessary retrenchments and regulations were made in other official departments. The same house, for the purpose of asserting the freedom of election, and the rights of electors, rescinded the famous resolution relative to the Middlesex election, and expunged it from their journals. During the short space of two years, that parliament saw five ministers in succession, at the head of public affairs.

The event of the general election proved as it was natural to expect, considering the great advantages which the new administration possessed. Upwards of one hundred and sixty members of the last parliament lost their seats, and of these almost the whole number were the friends of the coalition ministry. This universal sense of the nation in favour of the new ministers was ascribed to an *unparalleled delusion*. The following were the principal members who were rejected: Lord John Cavendish, for the city, Mr. Foljambe, the heir of Sir George Saville, for the county of York; general Conway, for Bury; Mr. Coke, for Norfolk; Mr. Halsey for Hertfordshire; Mr. Townshend, for Cambridge university; and Mr. Erskine, for Portsmouth. Mr. Fox himself, to the surprise of all, had a clear and great majority on the poll for Westminster, though the high bailiff, by a scandalous partiality, refused to make the return in his favour---for which an action was subsequently brought by Mr. Fox in the court of king's bench, and a verdict obtained with considerable damages.

CHAP. XX.

Meeting of the new parliament—The high bailiff of Westminster attends the bar of the house of commons—The commutation act—Mr. Pitt's India bill passed—The bill for the restoration of the forfeited estates in Scotland—Conclusion of the session—The trial of the dean of St. Asaph—Claims of the emperor upon Holland—France becomes the mediator between Holland and the emperor—Russia takes a decided part in favour of the emperor's claims—Prince Henry of Prussia's visit to the court of Versailles—Critical state of affairs of Europe at the close of the year 1784—The second session of the new parliament—Westminster scrutiny discussed—Mr. Pitt's plan for a reform in parliament—The shop-tax—Resolutions of parliament respecting the commerce of Ireland—Mr. Lunardi's aerial voyage—Mr. Blanchard and Dr. Jeffries pass over the English channel in a balloon—The unfortunate aerial excursion of Messrs. de Rosiere and Romaine—An account of the public affairs of Germany, Holland, and the Netherlands—The Spanish expedition against Algiers.

[A. D. 1784, 1785.]

ON the 18th of May 1784, both houses of parliament being assembled with the usual formalities, the new house of commons proceeded to the choice of a speaker, when Mr. Cornwall was again placed in the chair. The following day the king, in his speech from the throne, expressed "great satisfaction at meeting his parliament at this time, after having recurred in so important a moment to the sense of his people. He entertained a just and confident reliance that they were animated with the same sentiments of loyalty and attachment to the constitution which had been so fully manifested in every part of the kingdom. He recommended to their most serious consideration to frame suitable provisions for the good govern-
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ment of our possessions in the East Indies. Upon this subject parliament would not lose sight of the effect which the measures they adopted might have on our own constitution, and our dearest interests at home."

The address proposed on this occasion contained strong expressions of approbation respecting the late dissolution, which lord Surrey, on the ground of unanimity, moved to omit. But Mr. Pitt declared, "that much as he was convinced of the importance of unanimity, he would not purchase an hollow unanimity by passing over a great constitutional measure, which the circumstances of the times had made necessary and wise, and which had given the most entire satisfaction to every part of the kingdom." The house, therefore, divided on this point, and the amendment of lord Surrey was rejected by a majority of 76 voices. Thus the dissolution appeared to have completely answered its intended purpose; and from this period Mr. Pitt may be regarded as the efficient minister of the nation.—After this triumph of the new ministry, the business which chiefly for a time occupied the attention of the house, and of the public, was the complaint stated by Mr. Fox respecting the conduct of the high bailiff of Westminster, who had obstinately and daringly refused to make the return in his favour, although he had, upon the face of the poll, a majority of 235 votes. Those who had the principal direction in this procedure, however, failed in their design of excluding Mr. Fox from a seat in the house; for, through the interest of his friend sir Thomas Dundas, he was chosen member for the borough of Kirkwall, in the Orkneys; though Mr. Pitt, in the height of his exultation, gratified his malignant feelings on this occasion, by a sarcastical delineation of his great antagonist, as a man "on whom a sort of sentence of banishment had passed; who had been driven by the efforts of patriotic indignation as an exile from his native clime, and forced to seek refuge on the stormy and desolate shores of the North."

Mr. Lee, late attorney-general, moved on the 24th of May, "that the high bailiff of Westminster, on the day upon which the writ of election expired, ought to have
returned

returned two citizens to serve in parliament for that city." A violent debate ensued; and the previous question having been moved by sir Lloyd Kenyon, it was ordered that the high bailiff should attend the house on the day following. The defence of that officer, when before the commons, was, that "having ground to suspect the validity of many votes taken in the course of a poll of six weeks duration, he had granted a *scrutiny*, till the determination of which he could not *in conscience* make the return." To this an obvious and decisive answer presented itself. The scrutiny is nothing more than a revision of the poll by the returning officer; and if such revision is not, and cannot be, completed previous to the period at which the writ is returnable, the officer is bound, by the nature of his office, and the tenour of his oath, to make the return agreeably to the poll as it was actually taken. Had the high bailiff really felt those *scruples of conscience* by which he pretended to be thus embarrassed, the law of parliament allowed him to include all the candidates in the same return, which would at once have transferred the task and burden of the decision, from his own conscience, to the conscience of the house. After long pleadings by counsel, at the bar of the house, on either part, the motion was renewed, "that the high bailiff be directed forthwith to make the return." To the disgrace of the new administration, this motion was as vehemently opposed; and on a division finally negatived—the ayes being 117, the noes 194. It was then moved and carried, "that the high bailiff do proceed in the scrutiny with all practicable despatch." This affair rested in this state during the whole of the session; but the character of the minister suffered an indelible stain, in consequence of the part he took in the conduct of it.

Mr. alderman Sawbridge, on the 16th of June, made a motion, which was seconded by Mr. alderman Newnham, both of them representatives of the city of London, that a committee be appointed to inquire into the present state of the representation of the commons of Great Britain in parliament. The measure itself had the concurrence and support of Mr. Pitt, though he pro-
fessed

expressed in the usual language of ministers, that the *time* was improper; and indeed the motion appears to have been calculated and designed rather to embarrass the minister than to promote the proposed object. On the division upon the previous question, the numbers were 201 to 127.

On the 21st of June the house of commons, upon a motion made by the chancellor of the exchequer, came to several resolutions, which laid the foundation of the famous *commutation act*.

By the inquiries of a committee concerning the practice of smuggling it appeared, that only 5,500,000 lb. weight of tea was sold annually by the East India company, though the annual consumption of the kingdom was estimated at twelve millions; so that the illicit trade in this article was more than double the legal. The principle of Mr. Pitt's plan was, therefore, to lower the duty upon tea to such a degree as to make the profit on smuggling inadequate to the risk. But as a regulation of this nature must, upon being adopted, cause a deficiency in the revenue of about six hundred thousand pounds *per annum*, he proposed to make good the same by an additional window-tax. The act met with a violent opposition in both houses of parliament; and certainly no public measure was ever more replete with folly and oppression. On this subject it would be injustice to withhold from the public the observations of a late writer, whose sound judgment on political affairs, and whose animated and energetic language, we have frequently had occasion to commend*. "The candid mind," says he, "will readily acquit Mr. Pitt of the imputations which have been cast upon him, of interested or corrupt motives in this transaction. It has been said, that he wished to court the favour of the India company, in order to reconcile them to the strong measures which he had in contemplation with respect to them; and that he had a further use for the mercantile interest, which was to be profited on this occasion. These charges are certainly un-

* M^r Farlan's Hist. of the Reign of George III. vol. iii.

fair and unfounded; and the measure is rather to be attributed to the inexperience of a minister, young both in years and in office, and who at a maturer period would certainly not have fallen into so egregious an error in finance.

“The scheme is said to be the original production of one of the clerks of the India-house, who, to the shame of administration, if the assertion be true, is said still to enjoy a considerable pension for the sublime discovery! The fact with respect to its origin, may well be credited; for the measure bears evident marks of vulgar invention, and could only be the production of an ill-informed, uneducated mind, unable to embrace any scope of political reasoning, or to raise its conceptions above the mechanical drudgery of the compting-house. How Mr. Pitt, young as he then was, could be induced to favour and adopt so puerile, so barren, so absurd a project, is the only subject of admiration. That this censure is neither uncandid nor unjust, will unquestionably appear from a few plain, and, we trust, not unfair considerations.

“First, It is evident that the tax is transferred from a mere luxury to one of the necessities of life: A principle which has been universally condemned by every sound or well-informed writer on politics or finance.

“Secondly, An additional tax upon windows (properly speaking, indeed, upon the income or expenses of individuals) was one of the most obvious means of answering any future pecuniary emergency, which might occur in the course of our political transactions. Mr. Pitt therefore, by this measure, *anticipated* the immense sum of six hundred thousand pounds *per annum*, that is, the interest of a *loan of twelve millions*, without any decided object or benefit obtained to the nation; for its effects in preventing smuggling were, at best, but hypothetical and uncertain.

“Thirdly, The measure *did not answer* the end proposed with respect to the annihilation of smuggling; for it became necessary to prevent the smuggling of *foreign spirits* and other articles, by afterwards reducing the duty upon these very articles. The plan, therefore, of this

sapient clerk of the India-house, to be effectual in preventing smuggling, must be carried to the extent of taking the custom-house duties off every article that can possibly be smuggled, or, in other words, almost annihilating that branch of the revenue.

“ Fourthly, What was really effected as to the repressing of smuggling, was afterwards effected by the obvious means of increasing the number of revenue cutters, &c. and by enacting severe laws against the practice.

“ Fifthly, The tax which was before paid upon tea was optional; and those taxes which are so, if productive, are the best, because they are the least grievous and oppressive: But the new window-tax was a kind of poll-tax, by which all persons were indiscriminately assessed, whether by drinking tea they reaped any benefit from the pretended commutation or not. In this view the new tax was very properly compared to the *gabelle* or salt-tax in France, by which every man was *compelled* to take a certain quantity of that commodity, whether he wanted it or not.

“ Sixthly, The tax upon tea was not only a tax upon a luxury, but it was *equally levied*; but the new window-tax, from the circumstance of all houses which contain *above* a certain number of windows being rated at a certain sum, and from those who have *several* houses paying only for *two*, does not fall so heavy, in proportion, upon the great, as upon the middling classes of society.

“ Seventhly, As far as the poor were concerned in this measure, it only held forth a temptation to them to exchange their former wholesome articles of diet, such as milk, beer, &c. for a most pernicious beverage, and for the worst and most unwholesome species of it.

“ Eighthly, The India company, the Dutch, and the Chinese, were, in reality, the sole gainers by the measure: The profits they made were immense, and the arts they practised on the public truly censurable. Quantities of unsaleable teas, which had been, for a series of years, rotting in the company's warehouses, were said, on this occasion, to have been poured out upon the public.

The Dutch emptied upon England all the sweepings of their warehouses; and at China it is become, we are assured, an employment to provide base and adulterated teas, at a low rate, to supply the British market.

“Ninthly, It remains for the consideration of politicians whether the commerce with China is really beneficial to this country or not; and it lies with them to determine what quantity of our manufactures they take in exchange for what is to them a most lucrative commerce.”

These and several other arguments were stated in the house; but such was the popularity of Mr. Pitt, that the bill passed both houses by a great majority, and even with applause.

The grand business of the present session, however, was the arrangement of a plan for the future government of India. For this purpose Mr. Pitt, on the 6th of July, brought in a bill, founded on the general principles of that rejected by the former parliament, and to which the company had now given their slow and reluctant assent. By this bill a *board of control*, composed of a certain number of commissioners, of the rank of privy counsellors, was established, the members of which were to be appointed by the king, and removable at his pleasure. This board was authorised to check, superintend, and control the civil and military government and revenue of the company. The despatches transmitted by the court of directors to the different presidencies, were to be previously subjected to the inspection of the superior board, and countersigned by them; and the directors were enjoined to pay due obedience to the orders of the board, touching civil and military government and revenues; and in case such orders should, at any time, in the opinion of the directors, relate to points not connected therewith, they were empowered to appeal to his majesty in council, whose decision was declared final. The bill moreover enacted, that the appointment of the court of directors to the office of governor-general, president, or counsellor, in the different presidencies, should be subject to the approbation and recal of his majesty. As to the zemindars, or great hereditary landholders of India,

India, who had been violently dispossessed of their property; and who, agreeably to the generous and decisive tenour of Mr. Fox's bill, were to have been universally and peremptorily reinstated in their zemindaries; the present bill provided only, that an inquiry should be instituted in order to restore such as should appear to have been irregularly and unjustly deprived. This bill also created a high tribunal for the trial of Indian delinquents; consisting of three judges, one from each court, of four peers, and six members of the house of commons, who were authorized to judge, without appeal. Such are the outlines of this bill, which passed on the 9th of August. Mr. Fox, with his usual powers of discrimination, attacked the weak and exceptionable parts of this bill, although the utmost energy of his eloquence was found inadequate to excite the general attention of the public to the merits or demerits of the measure in question—prepossessed as they now, almost universally, were in favour of the minister with whom it originated, and in whom they placed the most entire and unlimited confidence; they were deaf to the voice of reason, and even of interest itself. The English are indeed a nation strangely under the guidance of passion; they regard *men* and not *measures*; and seldom inquire into the truth of things, till woful experience awakes them from their dream of confidence and adulation.

The last measure which came under parliamentary discussion, during the present session, was a bill introduced by Mr. Dundas, for the restoration of the estates forfeited in Scotland, in consequence of the rebellions of 1715 and 1745. He said, there was not one of the families comprehended in the scope of this measure, in which some person had not atoned for the crimes and errors of his ancestors, by sacrificing his blood in the cause of his country; and that the sovereign had not, for a long series of years past, more loyal subjects than the highlanders of Scotland and their chieftains.—This bill was received in a manner which did honour to the feelings of the house. Mr. Fox in particular bestowed upon it the highest encomiums, and professed himself deterred only
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by the lateness of the session, from endeavouring to enlarge its operation to what he conceived to be its just and proper extent. When the bill, however, was sent to the house of lords, it experienced a malignant resistance from the lord chancellor; but happily, on a division taking place, he was left in a small and disgraceful minority, and the bill finally passed with that public approbation and applause it so justly merited.

The total of the supplies granted this year (1784) by parliament, was 11,988,174*l.*; the total of the ways and means was 12,957,520*l.*

On the 20th of August an end was put to the session. The king, in the speech from the throne, returned his warmest thanks to the two houses, for their zealous and diligent attention to the public service. He predicted the happiest effects from the bill for the better government of India. He spoke in terms of high commendation of the laws enacted for the improvement of the revenue. He thanked his faithful commons for their provision for the arrears of the civil list; deploring, nevertheless, in the accustomed style, the *unavoidable burdens* imposed upon his people. He noticed the definitive treaty with Holland, and the peace concluded in India; and trusted, from the assurances of foreign powers, that the present tranquillity would prove of permanent duration.

During the interval between the prorogation of the parliament, and its re-assembling in the course of the ensuing winter, the nation enjoyed a flattering and delightful repose.

On Friday the 6th of August, the famous trial of the Rev. William Davies Shipley, dean of St. Asaph, for a libel, at the assizes at Shrewsbury, came on before the honourable Mr. justice Buller. The indictment was laid for publishing a libel, entitled, “*The Principles of Government; in a Dialogue between a Gentleman and a Farmer.*” This Dialogue was written by the justly celebrated sir William Jones, late one of the judges of the supreme court of judicature of Fort William in Bengal.

After hearing counsel on both sides, and after having stated the evidence, Mr. justice Buller addressed the jury

jury in a speech of considerable length, in which he observed, "that as for the several witnesses who had been called to give Mr. Shipley the character of a quiet and peaceable man, not disposed to stir up sedition, that could not govern the question before the court; for the question for the jury to decide was, whether the prisoner was or was not guilty of publishing the pamphlet as stated in the indictment? He could not subscribe to a great deal of what he had heard from the defendant's counsel; but he readily admitted the truth of that proposition which he stated from Mr. Locke, that 'wherever the law ends tyranny begins.'

"That it had long been the practice of the courts to state to the jury, in a case like this, three questions for their consideration; namely: The first, whether the defendant was guilty of publishing the libel? The second was, whether the innuendos, or the averments made upon the record were true? The third, which was a question of law, was, whether it was or was not a libel? Therefore, the two first were the only questions which the jury had to consider: For surely it would," continued he, "be very extraordinary to require of a jury, that they should carry all the legal determinations upon similar cases in their minds, which it would be necessary for them to do, if they were to decide upon the question of law. The mode of administering justice in this country has uniformly been for the judges to decide the law, the juries to decide the fact, and both under the solemn obligation of an oath. The judges are sworn to administer the law faithfully and truly: The jury are not so sworn, but to give a true verdict *according to the evidence.*"

Among the arguments made use of by Mr. Erskine, as counsel for the defendant, there was one which justice Buller confessed to be as forcible as extraordinary.

"If," said that able advocate, "there be nothing for the jury to decide upon but the fact of the publication, they come here only to decide what was never disputed, but allowed by the defendant himself."

When the judge had finished his charge, the jury withdrew to consider of their verdict. When they returned

again into court, the foreman said, they found the defendant *guilty of publishing only*. Upon this extraordinary verdict being announced, Mr. justice Baile informed the jury, that they must explain one way or other, whether they found the meaning of the innuendos. The indictment had stated, that G. means gentleman; F. farmer; the king, the king of Great Britain; and the parliament, the parliament of Great Britain.—“Do you find him guilty?” One of the jury replied, “We find him guilty of that.” After some altercation between the judge and the counsel for the defendant, the jury were asked by the latter, whether they meant that the word *only* should stand part of their verdict. They said, they did mean so. The judge replied, “Gentlemen, if you add the word *only*, it will be negating, or at least not finding the truth of the innuendos; that I understand you did not mean to do.” Mr. Erskine then insisted on his lordship, sitting as a judge, to record the verdict as given by the jury. After several interrogatories put to them by the judge and the counsel, they peremptorily declared, that they did not mean to give any verdict upon the question, whether a libel or not? but left that entirely to the court. At length the verdict was recorded, “*Guilty of publishing; but whether a libel or not, the jury do not find.*”

The transactions which took place in Holland about this time, from their magnitude and importance, merit a particular detail.

When the affairs of his Eastern neighbours afforded no farther immediate scope to the exercise of the emperor's political activity on that side, no time was lost in its direction to other more remote objects. The seizing or recovery of the Dutch barrier formed only an opening to what was farther intended on that side; and through all the bustle and preparation of war that appeared on the Danube, the court of Brussels served as a constant monitor to the states of the United Provinces, in reminding them that many other matters of serious consideration remained still to be settled with that monarch.

Such a continual intermixture and fluctuation of limits as unavoidably took place through all the vicissitudes of
peace

peace and war, alliance and enmity, that had formerly so long prevailed between Spain and Holland, being farther involved and perplexed by the circumstances of the succession war, by the new engagements contracted between the republic and the German branch of the house of Austria upon the subsequent transfer of territory, and by that singular sort of mixed dominion which both retained for so many years in the Netherlands, necessarily left behind much open room for litigation; nor indeed could plausible grounds for setting up new claims, or for questioning the validity of old titles, ever be exhausted in such circumstances. Independent, however, of these causes, artificial limits in confined countries, where small objects are of importance, must necessarily be more fruitful of contention, than those boundaries of nations which are thrown out upon a large scale, and strongly marked by the hand of nature.

The emperor was, it might be said, legally armed at all points upon this occasion. His assumption of being heir-general to all the rights, titles, or demands, which ever had, or might have been asserted by the Spanish branch of the house of Austria, as well as by his own immediate line, together with his acting as representative for the people of the different districts, which he possessed under the various titles of duke, count, or lord, furnished him with a number of distinct claims, which were the more inexhaustible, as no limitation of time, nor argument founded on prescription, was likely to operate against so powerful a claimant. Articles of forage, which had been supplied by some districts in the succession war, and the contributions which had been levied on others, were now brought forward as standing matters of account to be settled and discharged; and, if we are not mistaken, the wars even of the preceding century afforded some present subjects of demand. But of all the claims now set up, that upon the city and country of Mastricht seemed to be the best founded, and was by far the most distressing to Holland.

At the same time, the affairs of the republic were in so unfortunate a situation, that they scarcely could have failed,

failed, at any period of time, or under any circumstances of neighbourhood, to have drawn upon it unexpected claims and extraordinary demands. The termination of the war with England had only afforded a cessation of immediate evil and danger to Holland; for the peace had neither restored vigour or unanimity at home, nor reputation or importance abroad. On the contrary, their civil dissensions were every day increasing in magnitude and virulence; so that there scarcely seemed a hope of any remedy, that would not at least prove as dangerous as the disease. The protection and apparent services which they had received from France during the war, had thrown into the hands of that power an evident preponderancy in all the affairs of the republic; and that influence being unceasingly, though covertly exerted, in support of the old Lovestein, or republican faction, of which the French interest in Holland for the most part and at most times consisted, and whose members were the hereditary enemies of the stadtholderian system of government, as well as of the Orange family, it was now become so strong, that no sufficient counterpoise remained in the state, to restrain the excess and violence incident to the predominance of political parties.

As a prelude and necessary opening to the completion of their designs in reducing the authority and abridging the prerogatives of the stadtholder, this aristocratic party (which, independent of foreign support, and however controlled or apparently reduced at particular periods, ever retained no small degree of inherent power in the republic) had determined on the removal of the prince Lewis, duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle, and field marshal of the Dutch forces, who having been the stadtholder's guardian and representative during his minority, had thereby long possessed the efficient powers of the state. The consideration that the eminent posts which he held were the rewards of long services and experienced ability, had little effect in controlling the animosity of his adversaries; and though this prince had discharged all the high trusts which had been reposed in him, in a manner which merited and had actually obtained the greatest
public

public applause; yet, in seasons of jealousy and suspicion, the discontents that accumulated in the long possession of power, and the heats of popular dissension, quite overbore all opinion of past merits, and rendered superior capacity and ability rather objects of terror than of reverence or affection. The opposite party had carried on a long war of public and private invective against his conduct and designs, and did not scruple openly to attribute to his counsels and influence with the stadtholder, certain deep-laid and dangerous schemes, which, as they asserted, were formed for the subversion of the constitution, and the establishment of a tyranny upon the ruins of the republic.

The duke had long endured, with admirable temper and magnanimity, a course of unceasing reproach and abuse; but finding that the prevalence of his enemies was becoming every day more decided, and that their inveteracy proceeded so far as to hold him out to the public as the common enemy of the state and country, he thought it wise or necessary to give way to the torrent, as a means of allaying the public fever, and restoring tranquillity to the stadtholder's government, whose interests only connected him with the republic. The duke of Brunswick accordingly wrote a letter to the states general, in which, after some short reference to the approbation which his conduct, during thirty-two years spent in their service, had heretofore, in seasons of peace and union, happily received, he recurred to the continual troubles which he had experienced, and the numberless attacks which had been made upon him during the last four years; these he assigned as the cause, together with the indifference to his injuries shown by the states themselves, in refusing to grant him that opportunity which he had frequently claimed, of publicly refuting those charges and calumnies which had been raised against him, for his then resigning all the offices that he held under the state, and discharging himself from all obligations and engagements of fidelity to the republic.

While the republic was thus depriving itself of the security to be derived from those talents and experience on which

which it had so long relied, its situation became daily more critical with its great neighbour the king of Prussia, who was naturally and politically its friend and protector. Exclusive of his near affinity with the prince stadtholder, it would have been entirely contrary to his views and interests, closely connected as he was with them in all the relations of neighbourhood and alliance, that any considerable revolution should take place in the actual constitution of the republic; yet such was the impetuosity of the domineering party, that the reiterated remonstrances and powerful interference of that monarch seemed to have but little weight, whether in restraining personal imputations on the stadtholder, or political attempts on his authority.

In the mean time, the republican party were every-where forming military associations, and, under the term of volunteers, and the ostensible motives of public defence, were in a serious preparation for a civil war; nor was the opposite or Orange party, however inferior in power, if not in number, at all deficient in point of violence and animosity. Thus lamentably torn to pieces, and convulsed in all its members, the circumstances and condition of the republic could not, under any known dispensation of things among states, fail to attract the views and excite the enterprise of powerful and ambitious neighbours.

A dangerous refuge, however, remained, and in this situation was eagerly grasped at; for France having, as we have seen, through the violence of parties, and the collision of jarring views and interests, accompanied by a series of unexpected and singular events, but all tending to the same conclusion, obtained an unbounded influence in the affairs of the republic, it identified their interests so much, that she was bound by every principle of policy to counteract the designs of others, and to afford her protection at whatever risque or expense. This was affording every thing that the aristocratical party could wish; the state would be protected from danger without, while they were at leisure to new-model the internal government.

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This peculiar situation of affairs between France and Holland, did not seem in any degree to operate upon the conduct of the emperor, who, perhaps, built more upon the freindship and closeness of alliance between him and France, than older politicians would have been inclined to do upon the faith of any national connexion, when that faith was to be put to the test by superior interests and temptation. That prince, indeed, appeared to be so secure of his object, that he seemed to depart, upon this occasion, in some measure from his general character; and the court of Vienna was observed, in all its transactions with the republic, to resume that high tone and peremptory haughtiness, which the prevalence of a taste more conformable to the uncertain tenure of human power had brought into disuse; but which indeed had characterised the house of Austria, even in those untoward seasons, in which haughtiness seemed something more akin to magnanimity.

The states general finding themselves involved in demands of which they knew not the direct aim nor full extent, thought it prudent to submit to necessity; and, in a contest with so powerful an adversary, by giving up forms, to manifest a conciliatory disposition; and, under these impressions, they sent two plenipotentiaries (April 21st, 1784) to Brussels, furnished with such powers as could yet appear necessary for an amicable adjustment of all differences with that court.

With these pacific dispositions, so fully displayed on their own side, and in the very act of concession, it could not but excite their astonishment and dismay, to find that the night after the arrival of their plenipotentiaries in that city, should have been chosen, on the other, for the commission of an act of open violence and hostility: For on that night, without previous declaration or notice, a small detachment of Austrian foot, with four field pieces, entered the territories of the republic, and took possession of the fort of Old Lillo. It is true, indeed, that this was a place of little consequence or value, for it had been so entirely neglected since the construction of the
5 fortress

fortress of New Lillo near it, that it was not only without artillery or garrison, but the governor of the latter had converted the interior ground into a kitchen-garden. The seizing it, however, in this manner, was no less a violation of territorial right, than if it had been a place of greater importance; and it seemed the less to be accounted for, that in a map of the Netherlands, which had been constructed so late as the year 1775, under the immediate orders of the court of Vienna, that place had been marked as lying within the Dutch limits.

The causes of alarm did not rest here; for in little more than a week after, when the negotiations were actually commenced, and the Dutch ministers appeared evidently disposed to give all reasonable satisfaction to the emperor's claims, a detachment of Austrian dragoons advanced in like manner to a place called Hartog Eyke, near Heerle, where they demolished the barriers, pulled down the Dutch flag from the custom-house, and charged the receiver of that department, in the name of his imperial majesty, not to obey or execute any orders from the regency of Heerle, who were his legal and natural masters, nor to receive from any person whatever any money upon account or pretence of toil or duty; threatening, in case of disobedience, to send him bound hand and foot to the next Austrian garrison.

Such violent proceedings, at such a season, and under such circumstances, certainly augured no friendly or conciliatory dispositions on the part of the court of Brussels; unless, indeed, it could be supposed that they were merely intended to accelerate the motions of the negotiators, and to correct the constitutional phlegm and habitual slowness charged to their country. However that was, the states undoubtedly could not but sorely feel the degraded circumstances of their situation, and the deplorable change which a few years had produced in their affairs, as well as in their rank and character with other nations.

These hostile transactions occasioned an universal alarm in Holland. Hasty measures were adopted for securing the frontiers from immediate danger, at least from any

considerable loss, impracticable as it was to preserve them entirely from insult. Such regiments of horse and foot as were next to hand were immediately despatched to **Mastricht**, not only as a place of the first importance, but as an object known to be particularly aimed at. Other troops were ordered from different quarters to reinforce those garrisons or posts which were most exposed, or deemed to be of greatest consequence. But even in this moment of dismay and apparent danger, when the public safety might have depended so much upon the celerity of movement and promptness of design and action, the measures of defence were obstructed by the disputes between the states and the prince stadtholder, relative to the rights or limits of the executive power. Such being the fatality of civil dissensions, that they frequently render the citizen obtuse and deaf to the most imminent public dangers.

The states had previously solicited the French king, who was now their only refuge, for his friendly interposition with his brother-in-law the emperor, in softening his disposition towards the republic, and for his accepting the office of mediator, in finally arranging and settling the disputed limits and frontiers, as well as the other matters of difference between them. As the part which France, notwithstanding her new connexions with the republic, might pursue, in so delicate a conjuncture of circumstances and interests, afforded much room for doubt and apprehension, it could not but administer the highest satisfaction to the states, when under the depression and alarm excited by these violences, the duke de Vauguion, ambassador from the court of Versailles, communicated to them the welcome intelligence, that his master had frankly and readily accepted the desired office of mediation.

It may well be supposed, that the desire of effectually securing the friendship of France, in this trying and critical situation of their affairs, had no small effect in influencing the conduct of the states, with respect to that new treaty of close alliance and friendship between both powers, which seemed to be about that time commenced ;

and which, being successfully carried on through the course of their disputes with the emperor, was brought to a conclusion at their termination. Such a circumstance in private affairs might possibly be considered as using an undue influence with the umpire; nor is it entirely certain, that the same opinion was not held on one side upon this occasion.

In the mean time, the states used their utmost endeavours to remove the scene of the negotiations for an accommodation from Brussels to Vienna; but their applications for this purpose failed entirely of effect: Prince Kaunitz, the imperial prime minister, having declared that the emperor had entirely remitted his claims to the government of Brussels, and to the conduct of the count Belgiojoso, his minister in the Low Countries. This refusal was particularly untoward; as, besides the immediate interest which the government of the Netherlands had in supporting and enforcing all the emperor's demands to the utmost, the count Belgiojoso, so far from shewing any marks of an accommodating spirit, was extremely harsh and peremptory in all his transactions with the republic.

It seems remarkable that the business of the Scheldë, and of opening the port of Antwerp, which every body knew to be the great object which the emperor had in view in all these measures, was entirely overlooked in that statement of claims and demands which had been presented to the states by the imperial ministers. As an omission of so much consequence could not possibly be attributed to negligence or forgetfulness, it may be supposed it was intended, that that business should be considered as a matter of such clear and evident right, that it could not be subjected to any discussion; and that it depended entirely on the emperor's will to fix the time which he might think proper for carrying the measure into execution.

It was possibly upon this principle, and perhaps in part to increase the embarrassment and consternation of the states on finding themselves at once attacked on every side, and on all points, without knowing where the claims would

would end, or what part of the differences would be submitted to negotiation, or otherwise, that some short time before the transactions we have related had taken place, a Flemish boatman was employed to make an experiment on the Schelde, which seemed calculated for no other purpose than to bring the question on the free navigation of that river to an immediate issue.

This man having passed the Dutch fort of Lillo, and a guardship stationed near it, on his way down the river from Antwerp, without notice, and consequently without that examination which he invited, in the morning, he returned the same way in the afternoon; when the captain of the guard-ship observing that he did not lower his flag, nor bring to as usual for examination, called to him several times to do both, which he absolutely refusing, was in consequence boarded; when the reason of his conduct being demanded, the Fleming replied, that he was under positive orders not to stop at Lillo, nor to submit to any inquisition. As a further proof that the business was designed and prepared for, some Netherland magistrates of considerable rank were on board the boat; of whom the grand bailiff of Beveren said to the Dutch officer, "This is imperial territory, we do not acknowledge any Dutch or Zealand authority, and the boatman shall make no declaration."—We are strangely left in the dark as to the issue of this affair; although (which did not seem of much consequence) notice is taken that some insulting language was used on the Netherland side.

But although the boat was discharged at this time, it seemed as if it had been thought that enough was not yet done, and that it was determined to push things to extremity. For in two or three days after the same boatman returned to make another experiment; and though the Dutch commandant sent to request that he would submit amicably to that visitation, and those forms which he could not himself avoid insisting on, the other peremptorily refused to comply. A gun, charged only with powder, was at length fired at the boat, and proper officers sent on board; but the boatman obstinately persevered,

severed, and entered a formal protest against the whole proceedings, as acts of direct violence.

A new statement of the emperor's claims and demands, described as his *ultimatum*, was presented to the Dutch ministers in some time after the opening the negotiations at Brussels; in which, along with an enlargement of former articles, and the addition of some new ones, relative to the restitution of places or territories said to have been usurped, and the payment of real or supposed debts, that monarch insisted, in the 5th article, upon his right to the absolute and independent sovereignty of the whole Schelde lying between Antwerp and Saftingen; and that the Dutch guard-ship stationed opposite to fort Lillo should accordingly be for ever removed, as he could not think of permitting the exercise of any foreign authority whatever within any part of his sovereignty on that river.

In consequence of a communication made to the court of Versailles by the states general of the memorial which they had drawn, in answer to the claims and demands made by the emperor, and containing likewise a number of counter claims set up on their side, which in law language and practice might be considered as a set-off against the former, the French king took that opportunity, along with many commendations of their past and present moderation, and the desire which they had manifested of preserving the public tranquillity, strongly to recommend a continuation of the same prudent and equitable conduct, particularly cautioning them to abstain from all measures which might, in any degree, be considered as wounding or affecting the emperor's dignity. He likewise recommended, that in order to give the greater efficacy to his own conciliatory endeavours, and the better to enable him to enforce all the means which his connexions with that sovereign might admit of, that they should furnish and support him with such specific propositions as they were willing to make for laying the foundation of an equitable and lasting accommodation.

This was accordingly done; but the interposition of France seemed yet far from producing any favourable effect on the conduct of the emperor, who was undoubtedly,

edly, and indeed apparently, very little satisfied with her interference at all in the business.

Early in the autumn of 1784, every thing seemed tending rapidly to the most decisive and alarming crisis. Three new and extraordinary demands were added to the emperor's former *ultimatum*.—These were, in the first place, “The entire and free navigation of the Schelde from Antwerp to the sea,” which was to be laid down as a *sine qua non*; and was accompanied with a declaration, “That in the intermediate time, until matters were finally settled, the emperor's subjects should occasionally exercise their undoubted right of navigating that river; and that two ships were then in actual preparation for the purpose.” This was farther enforced by the count Belgiojoso, who, in his usual peremptory manner, declared to the Dutch ministers at Brussels, that the first shot fired upon the Schelde would be considered by his master as a declaration of war, and immediately treated and resented accordingly.

The second article related to the foregoing, and insisted, that the several forts of Frederic Henry, Liefenhock, Kruischans, and Lillo, which had been erected by the Dutch for the maintenance of their monopoly in the navigation of the Schelde, should be dismantled and demolished.

The third demand, if not more alarming, seemed at least more extraordinary than the former. This was no less than a free navigation and uninterrupted commerce to and in both the East and West Indies. This indeed was a singular demand: It was in fact claiming a moiety of all the benefits which the Dutch derived from their colonies in the New World, and their conquests and settlements in the East, being the fruits of much hard adventure, great risque, and advance of treasure, of numberless treaties and negotiations, and of many severe wars, through the course of near two centuries. A requisition which, taken in its full extent, would have reached to their monopoly of the Spice Islands, and even to their trade in Japan, if that fierce and haughty people

had not rendered all speculation and adventure upon their forbidden coasts impracticable.

It may now be necessary to look somewhat into the nature of the claims and demands made on the one side, and of the objections stated on the other, for the forming of some opinion how far they were supported upon the principles of reason, justice, and equity, or upon the ground of particular treaties and conventions, or either.

The states of Holland insisted, that several of the emperor's demands were in direct contravention of the most solemn treaties. That by the treaty of Munster, concluded the 30th of January, in the year 1648, with his predecessor, Philip the IVth of Spain, duke of Burgundy, of Brabant, and earl of Flanders, that prince, besides acknowledging in the fullest manner the independency of the United States, not only confirmed to them all such possessions as they already held, and such barrier towns and forts as were then assigned, but renounced, for himself and his successors for ever, all claim and title to any such as they might hereafter, without infraction of that treaty, acquire, by conquest or otherwise. That by the same treaty, he not only irrevocably confirmed the charters and rights of the Dutch East and West India Companies, but rendered himself and his successors the perpetual guarantees of their commerce in both parts of the world. That by the 6th article of the said treaty it is further specially provided, that the said king's own subjects should be restricted to continue their navigation in the East Indies, in the same manner which they had hitherto exercised it, and should, on no account whatever, be permitted to extend it beyond those limits.

That by the 14th article of the said treaty of Munster, it was expressly stipulated, that the western or lower Schelde (commonly called Le Hondt), the canal of Sas, the Swin, and other mouths of the sea bordering upon them, should be *kept* closed on the side belonging to the states.

That the treaty of Munster had been recognised and confirmed, and the rights of the states fortified and en-
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larged, by a number of subsequent treaties. That by the barrier treaty, concluded in 1715, between the emperor, the king of Great Britain, and the republic, the former ceded certain territories therein specified to the latter, in full and complete sovereignty, for the security and better exercise of their sovereignty and rights on the lower Schelde, and for facilitating their communications between Brabant and Dutch Flanders. That the said cession was formally repeated and confirmed, and a small farther addition of territory ceded, for the same express purpose, in the convention which was concluded between the same three powers, in the year 1718.

That, with respect to their commercial rights, the same emperor, Charles the VIth. having, in derogation of the treaty of Munster, adopted the well-known project of establishing a company to trade from Ostend to India, that prince, notwithstanding, found it necessary, after it had been carried on for some years, to relinquish the design, and to dissolve the company. For by the treaty of Vienna, concluded in 1731, between the emperor and his Britannic majesty, and to which the states general became parties by an act of concurrence, the former was bound to abolish the said commerce and company for ever. And, with respect to the West Indies, the said act of concurrence states, on the part of the Dutch, "That they will conform with good faith to the regulations established by the treaty of Munster, in every thing that is therein stipulated with respect to the commerce and navigation of the West Indies."

It was strongly urged, that the rights of the republic, and particularly her exclusive sovereignty of the Schelde, had been confirmed and guaranteed to her by all the treaties which secure the political existence of Europe. That it was now near 140 years since the conclusion of the treaty of Munster; during all which long period she had held, unclaimed and unquestioned, the exclusive navigation of that river. But that it was no new claim, nor novel exercise of sovereignty or right, even at that very time; for that the river had been equally shut up,
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ever since the taking of Antwerp by the duke of Parma, in the year 1585. That therefore, supposing the treaty of Munster had contained no specific article whatever upon that subject, yet the very omission, in a matter of such vast importance, and the acquiescence in a measure so long, and so notoriously established, must have been considered by all mankind as a full acknowledgment and confirmation of the right. Nor did this exclusive right and benefit, already possessed, and thus legalized and confirmed, want the sanction of a fair and full compensation in its purchase; for it was a part of the price which Spain paid for the preservation of those very Netherlands which are now held by the emperor, the claims on which would never otherwise have been relinquished by the states of Holland. Nor is the world now to learn, that the power of the republic was, both then and after, fully competent, and that opportunities of advantage, sufficiently favourable, had been offered, for the establishment of those claims with success, if they had not been thus renounced.

They farther insisted, that the business of the Schelde was far from being merely a matter of commerce, as was pretended. The question of opening that river was much more of a political than of a commercial nature. Things had undergone such changes, and the circumstances of commerce were so totally altered, that Antwerp was not now capable of becoming an object of jealousy or envy. But the opening of the Schelde, would be opening the gates of a broad and great road, into the very heart of their dominions: It would be laying the inmost recesses, and the vital sources of the state, open and exposed; and would at once include, not only the immediate security, but the independence and very existence of the republic.

On the other side, it was answered, on the part of the emperor, that the states had been guilty of so many infractions of the treaty of Munster, in all those parts of it which secured the rights, or were in any degree advantageous to the Austrian Netherlands, that they had thereby forfeited all claim to the performance of those
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stipulations which were in their own favour. That he found himself therefore, both in reason and equity, perfectly absolved from paying any regard to those provisions on which they now wished so much to insist. That they, however, strained the meaning (as they did in all similar cases) to their own advantage, of that article in the treaty of Munster which related to the Schelde, and which by no means conveyed that sovereignty and exclusive right that they pretended. But if every thing they advanced upon that or any other ground of treaty had been even admitted, still the shameful yoke which had been imposed upon the Netherlands was too unnatural and too degrading to be lasting; nor could it, from these circumstances, be any longer possibly endured, than while absolute necessity, arising from the unfortunate situation of public affairs, rendered a submission to it inevitable.

It was farther said, that the Dutch had been no less guilty of violations of the barrier, and other later treaties, than they had been with respect to that of Munster. But that, if all other violations of faith and treaty on their side had been overlooked or forgotten, their shameful prevarication, and the injustice of their conduct with respect to Mastricht, would have been in itself sufficient to discharge and cancel all obligations and conditions with a people, who never paid any regard, or attended farther to the provisions of any treaty or convention, than as it suited their own interest.

The grounds of argument in support of the emperor's claim were very open and specious, and were capable of being dressed in so plausible a guise, and of putting on appearances so interesting and engaging, that they were admirably calculated for seducing the opinions of the generality of mankind, who taking only a transient view of the subject, were influenced more by sentiment, than by any attention to questions of state or policy in their decisions.

The bare relation of the fact, that an ancient and respectable people, who had been long and early renowned in commerce, had been brought to ruin and beggary, by de-

depriving them of their natural right to the navigation and benefits of a river which ran through their territories, seemed at once sufficient to decide the question in the minds of the hearers, and to unite them in a general reprobation of so flagrant an injustice. Upon the same principle, the deliverance of a people from so cruel a mark of bondage, and the restoration to their natural rights and former happiness, seemed an achievement so glorious, as to be worthy and characteristic of a hero. The former greatness, splendour, and opulence of Antwerp, were artfully dwelt upon with a view to the passions; and with great effect, though little truth or justice, its decline was attributed entirely to this odious measure, to which the Dutch were said to be prompted by their jealousy and avarice, in order to monopolise all commerce, and that Amsterdam in particular might rise to greatness upon her ruins. With an equal view to the passions, and with still less truth or justice, the Schelde was magnificently represented as the finest river in Europe, as if its beauty could have any thing to do with the questions of right, or of political necessity. It may be easily judged, that the general and established character of avidity attributed to the Dutch, with the harsh, arbitrary, and monopolising spirit, which they had ever displayed in commercial matters, could not but operate greatly to their disadvantage upon the opinions and prejudices of mankind.

The states, however, had many strong grounds of argument and fact to oppose to plausible and artful representations, or to prejudiced and hastily-conceived opinion. It was said to be absurd, in the present state of things and of the world, to recur to what was called *natural rights*, in order to overthrow those social compacts between men, and political conventions between states, which are the foundation and the security of all public and private property. What a picture would Europe exhibit, if all its powers were now obliged to recur to original principles, and to the laws of nature, and to relinquish all those possessions, which fraud or force, war or treaty, through the revolutions of a long series of ages, had enabled them
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to acquire! It would be unloosing all the bands that unite mankind; throwing them back again into a state of savage nature; and rendering the world a chaos of endless confusion and disorder.

It was however denied, that a river's passing in its inland course through some part of a prince's territories, constituted such natural right, when its opening to the sea was in the possession of another sovereign. But, at once to do away all the pathetic declamation thrown out upon this subject, it was strenuously insisted, that the whole course of the two branches of the Schelde, which passed within the dominions of Holland, was entirely artificial; that it was formed by and owed its existence to the hands of Dutchmen; that its banks were the produce of ages of unintermitted labour; and that they were still maintained by great and continual labour and expense. That if it had not been those standing monuments of Dutch enterprise, those admirable dykes which excite the astonishment of mankind, the waters of the Schelde, stagnating in shallow lakes and immense marshes, had never reached the sea in any distinct or sufficient portion for the purposes of navigation. That the lower Schelde being thus originally made and still preserved by Dutchmen, as they had before created and still preserved the two provinces of Holland and Friesland, so it was equally their own property. That as it could not even be imagined that those immense labours were intended for the use of others, so their benefits, as well as the stupendous works themselves, must be considered, upon every principle of natural right, of law, and of justice, as their own exclusive property, independent of all treaties whatever.

In answer to the tragical representations, by which the degradation and fall of Antwerp from its ancient splendour and greatness were charged entirely to Dutch avarice and despotism, particularly in the measure of shutting up the Schelde, it was observed, that the departure of foreign commerce from that city had originated from various well-known causes, many of them antecedent to, and all of them differing widely from that only one which
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was now assigned. Antwerp had been fast declining for more than a century before the commencement of the troubles and wars of the Netherlands. Commerce had branched out into other channels; and Amsterdam, though long before considerable, had, within that period, from its superior advantages, and other concurring causes, risen to be the first commercial city in Europe. Antwerp, however, continued great and opulent, and notwithstanding the losses which it sustained by its memorable siege, would have been still considerable, if its ruin had not been completed by the same causes and means which desolated Bruges, and other great cities of the Netherlands. The despotism, cruelty, and religious persecution of the Spaniards, obliged the merchants and manufacturers to abandon them all, and to convey their commerce and their arts, along with themselves, to other countries. It was observed, as a curious circumstance with respect to this subject, that Spain, the sovereign of Antwerp, had been no less interested than Holland, in the measure of shutting up the Schelde; for that, as the celebrated statesman John de Witte says in his memoirs, the greatness and opulence of that city were not compatible with the views of Spanish despotism.

The real cause, however, of the states, being struck with such apprehension at the demand of opening the Schelde, was not on their side explicitly stated; as that, besides being an acknowledgment of their fears, would have precisely pointed out the objects of their terror, and shown in what manner their ruin could with the greatest ease be accomplished.

The different branches of the Schelde intersected their dominions in such a manner, and had such an open communication with their various other waters, that their harbours, docks, naval arsenals, many of their principal cities, and, in a great measure, the whole interior of their country, would lie open and exposed to the possessor of the former; so that their very existence ever after must lie at the mercy of such an inmate; and they must sooner or later expect, and ever live under the constant dreadful ap-

apprehension of becoming sacrifices to ambition, revenge, or even caprice.

As a certain degree of marine force would, however, be necessary for the accomplishment of this dangerous purpose, and as the emperor possessed none at present, report and apprehension served to supply that immediate defect. It was reported, and by many credited, that as that sovereign and Russia had lately been in the habit of playing into each others hands, with respect to Turkey, the Crimea, the Black Sea, and the Danube, so they were likewise now in concert in the establishment of the Schelde project; and that the latter of these potent allies having failed in all her views of obtaining a port, at any price, in the Mediterranean, or ocean, the former would accommodate her with the use of the Schelde, as a place of arms, and station for her navy. Such a report and opinion, however founded, could not but greatly heighten the distress and apprehension of Holland.

The test of war or peace announced by the emperor, without waiting the result of the negotiations at Brussels, or regarding the mediation of France, was now to be put to issue; although the states, as a proof of their moderation and conciliatory disposition, had removed the guardship from before Lillo; and had even rejected the proposal of repairing the fortifications of Maastricht (critical as the situation of that place was, and much as the repairs were wanted), lest its being adopted at such a season should have given any umbrage to that prince. The emperor had, however, previously offered to remit the whole, or most of his other pretensions, upon the condition of opening the Schelde in that perfect manner which he prescribed, so as that the navigation might be entirely free and unlimited as in the open seas, and no claim or exercise of sovereignty pretended. On the other hand, the states relaxed so far in this matter, as to offer to permit a limited navigation on it, subject to certain restrictions, and confined, as we apprehend, to his subjects in the Netherlands only.

Two imperial vessels had been preparing for some time to make the destined experiment upon the conduct of the

Dutch with respect to the Schelde; it was to determine whether they would persevere, at all events, in the assertion of their supposed right, or whether they would sink under the well-grounded apprehension of their great opponent's power. Every measure was used, both at Brussels and Paris, to induce the emperor to wave this measure of decision, and to wait the result of the negotiations; but he was determined in his object, and confirmed the threat of count Belgiojoso, by declaring, that he would consider the first insult offered to his flag upon this occasion as an act of formal hostility, and a declaration of war on the part of the republic.

The equipment and preparation of these vessels was evidently carried on in a manner that was intended to draw the eyes of all Europe to the transaction, and to prepare them for the consequences. One of these was to proceed down the Schelde, from Antwerp to the sea; and the other, up the river from the sea, on its course from Ostend to that city. The captain of the former of these was furnished with written orders from the emperor, commanding him to proceed in the brig *Lewis*, from Antwerp, along the Schelde, into the sea, and expressly forbidding him and his crew from submitting to any detention, or to any examination whatever, from any of the ships belonging to the republic, which he might meet in the river; and likewise forbidding his making the least declaration at any of the Dutch custom-houses, or acknowledging their authority in any manner.

The imperial brig passed Lillo, and some other forts, without examination, but getting in sight of a Dutch cutter, belonging to admiral Van Reynst's squadron, which lay towards the mouth of the river, a boat was sent on board with an officer, who was told by the captain, that he was on his passage to the sea, and that his instructions forbid his holding any parley whatever with the officers or ships of the United Provinces. Upon the brig's coming (Oct. 8th, 1784,) along side the Dutch cutter, the captain, waving the imperial instructions in his hand, refused to give any farther satisfaction, and per-

persevered in pursuing his course to sea; the commander of the former, after intreaties, threats, and the firing of a gun with powder only, had all failed of effect, in inducing him to drop the design, and return to Antwerp (the informality of passing Lillo without a passport being offered to be overlooked) he at length fired a shot with ball, which proved equally fruitless, he poured his broadside of seven guns into the brig, which did some damage to the vessel and rigging, but was fortunately guiltless of spilling blood.

The broadside being followed by a menace of sending the imperial brig to the bottom, if she did not immediately bring to, the captain found it necessary to comply, and to cast anchor. After various protests, remonstrances, and demands on his side, to pursue his voyage, with a constant positive refusal to take the vessel back to Antwerp, he at length quitted her, and a Dutch officer, with some seamen, were sent on board. All the circumstances of this transaction were magnified to the utmost on the imperial side; and the charges against the Dutch, of firing langrige shot at a defenceless vessel, and of removing the buoys, and other water-marks on the Schelde, in order that she might be lost on the shoals, were, in the highest degree of colouring, represented as instances of singular cruelty and atrocity. It would seem, indeed, that the captain had a very slow and precarious navigation, as it was on the third day from his leaving Antwerp, that this event took place. The vessel from Ostend was likewise stopped in her attempt to pass up from the sea; the circumstances being in general similar, but that no shots were fired.

Every thing now tended to an immediate rupture, so far as the emperor's absence at the time from Vienna, and the great distance of his armies, did not serve to retard that event.

As soon as the instructions from court could be received, the imperial ambassador was recalled from the Hague, and the negotiations at Brussels broken up. An army of 60,000 men was under orders, and in preparation, for marching from the Austrian hereditary domi-

nions to the Netherlands; the troops already there amounting to about 16,000. Great trains of artillery, and all the other apparatus of war, were in motion; and none that know the emperor's character will suspect but that he was already forward in preparation for an event, which he could not but foresee was probable, and the issue of which he had so much at heart. The great distance of his forces from the scene of action was, however, an insurmountable check to his activity. The different states of the empire, whose territories the army was to cross in its long march, were applied to for a consent, which could not be well refused, but which was in general unwillingly granted. The countries belonging to the king of Prussia were of necessity held sacred upon this occasion. Nor was the emperor satisfied with the bare passage of his troops through their dominions; he called likewise upon the states of the empire to furnish their respective quotas of troops towards the support of a war, which from the late affair on the Schelde, he wished to be considered as entirely defensive on his side.

Nor was the republic by any means insensible to her danger, nor negligent in providing all possible means for the most obstinate defence. In spite of her unhappy internal divisions, her antient courage and resolution seemed to revive. Though she evidently dreaded the arduous and unequal contest, and was willing to make many sacrifices to avoid it, yet she seemed determined rather to hazard all things, and even to perish in the encounter, than to submit willingly to a condition with which her ruin was inseparably involved. Agents were employed all over Germany, that nurse of war, and inexhaustible breeder of armies, who were indefatigable in their exertions for hiring troops from those princes who make it a custom to barter mankind for money. The exertions were no less considerable at home, in recruiting the troops, strengthening the frontiers, and putting the posts and garrisons in the best posture of defence. As the appearances of things became more alarming, and the danger seemed fast approaching, they prepared for the worst that might happen; being determined to have recourse
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to the last desperate refuge of defence which the nature of their country peculiarly afforded. In this determination, they were in readiness for laying the flat and exposed countries under water; and as the last resort, took measures for suddenly arming the peasants, whose fierce nature and characteristic obstinacy, when operated upon in the defence of their native dykes, would undoubtedly have afforded spectacles of unusual animosity and horror. Among the exertions of public spirit displayed by individuals, in this season of common danger, the merchants and burgomasters of Zealand subscribed a large sum of money for the raising of 2,000 light troops, who were to bear, in the front of their caps, the arms of the province, with an inscription, "*Pulchra pro libertate*," for fair liberty. Such a spirit would produce great effects in a defensive war, where the peculiar situation of the country would enable every man to perform in some degree the service of a soldier. The university of Leyden took measures for raising a regiment of 1,260 men at their own expence, and similar exertions were general.

As if it had been doomed that Holland should at this period be under a necessity of looking to France for every thing, so the departure of the duke of Brunswick from their service obliged the states to apply to that court for a general, whose abilities and experience might enable him to conduct their arms with effect, in a war of so much difficulty and danger as that now expected. The count de Maillebois, an officer of undoubted talents and abilities, who had seen much service in the wars of Lewis XV. and who had been rendered peculiarly remarkable by the violent breach which took place between him and the marshal d'Estrees, in the last German war, relative to some transactions at the battle of Haslenbeck, in the year 1757, was deputed to this service by the court of Versailles, and appointed commander in chief of the Dutch forces by the states. This, however, was not actually carried into effect until the beginning of the ensuing year.

In the mean time, nothing was left untried, either by the states, or by the court of Versailles, in their endeavours to divert the approaching storm. The former denied that the affair which passed on the Schelde could afford any just ground for the resentment expressed by the emperor, in recalling baron Reischach, in suddenly breaking up the negotiation, and the various measures tending to violence and hostility which he had since adopted, much less could it be considered in the light that it was represented, as a commencement of hostility and war. The states had no disposition to any act of hostility or aggression whatever against the emperor, nor were they still less peaceably inclined; but they were bound, by all the laws of nature, of nations, of justice, and of reason, not to permit a violation of their dearest and most incontrovertible rights. That though the measure in question was thus in every sense justifiable, and being warranted by the example of all other nations in similar circumstances, could require neither apology nor explanation, yet so strong were the conciliatory dispositions of the states, and so great their condescension and desire of living in harmony with the emperor, that they had despatched counter orders to their commanders on the Schelde, restricting them from proceeding to violence; and directing, that if fair means could not prevail, they should let the vessels for that time pass; and that these despatches arrived within two hours after the affair had happened. That they had besides previously declared at Brussels, that they could by no means be answerable for the consequences, nor hold themselves in any degree accountable for them, if such an attempt was made. While the measure was, on the other side, rendered still the more unjustifiable, from its being undertaken in the midst of a negotiation for an amicable conclusion of all differences.

The court of Versailles began now to expostulate seriously with the emperor upon this subject. It was observed, in a memorial presented upon this occasion, that the sincere friendship which attached the king to the emperor, combining with his wishes for the maintenance of
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the public tranquillity, rendered it a duty on him to come to an explanation with respect to the present differences. That while, at the solicitation of both parties, he had employed his good offices to bring about a reconciliation, he had carefully abstained from giving any opinion on the foundation of the emperor's first pretensions; a silence, the observation of which he still prescribed to himself; but his concern for the glory of the emperor authorised him to observe, that his first pretensions, and the demand for opening the Schelde, could not be considered under the same point of view. That the Dutch, in refusing a compliance with that demand, only supported a right which was secured to them by solemn treaty, and which they looked upon as the basis of their prosperity, and even existence. It seemed to be inferred from this reasoning, without an absolute decision in terms, that the affair on the Schelde by no means warranted the breaking off the negotiations, any more than the subsequent proceedings; and if the claim itself was not absolutely condemned, it was considered as having nothing to do with the business at Brussels; from all which a resumption of the negotiations was strongly recommended, and even pressed.

The memorial then stated, that by pursuing an opposite conduct, it was to be apprehended, that the emperor would excite a general uneasiness, and that other powers would think themselves obliged to take such precautions and measures as circumstances and events might require. That the king himself must, in that case, be under the necessity of assembling troops on his frontiers. That he could not by any means be indifferent to the fate of the United Provinces, nor see them attacked by open force in their rights and possessions; more especially at the present time, when he was on the point of concluding an alliance with the republic, the fundamental articles of which had been agreed on before these differences commenced. That if, moved by considerations of such great importance, the emperor can be induced to suspend all marks of hostility, and listen to the voice of moderation and humanity, the king renews the offer of his mediation.

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diation to procure an equitable and suitable accommodation, which he will the more zealously endeavour, as in so doing he shall obey the dictates of his personal sentiments with regard to the emperor, and he will thereby have the satisfaction to concur in extinguishing, in its first seeds, a war, the consequences of which cannot be calculated.

In the mean time, affairs seemed approaching fast to the last extremity on the borders of Holland and the Netherlands. Whether it proceeded from any motions made by the imperial troops, or from the discovery of some intended surprise, we are not informed; but some time previous to the close of the year, the states thought it necessary to have recourse to that sad measure of security, of laying part of the country under water. November 7th, 1784, a dyke was broken near Lillo, in the night, by which means the adjacent mixed territories on both sides, to a considerable extent, were immediately overflowed. Much damage was unavoidably done; and it was said, that a number of persons, to the amount of about fifty, perished through the suddenness of the inundation. An attempt was made to break another dyke, at some distance, on the same night, but was prevented from taking place through the timely intervention of the Austrian troops. This measure spread a general alarm through the Austrian borders; Ostend began hastily to throw up defences; all commerce between the two states was stopped; and nothing but attack and surprise was thought of, and prepared for, in the advanced places on both sides. All the troops in Austrian Flanders were in motion; every preparation for immediate war making; engineers and other officers continually arriving from Vienna at Brussels; and the emperor himself expected speedily. Other sluices were, about the same time, opened on the side of Utrecht, and a considerable tract of country overflowed.

The expostulations and remonstrances of France were not capable of subduing the inflexibility of the emperor on the subject of the Schelde. He was willing to accept the mediation of that power upon all other points of difference,

ference, and accordingly to consent to the renewal of the negotiations limited to those objects; but the free navigation of that river he considered as so incontrovertible a right, that it was not to be subjected to any discussion whatever. In the mean time, he was indefatigable in his preparations for war, and the Netherlands were gradually filling with troops, which arrived by quick marches and in small bodies, while the movements of the grand army were of necessity slow, through the difficulty of procuring subsistence on the way for such numbers, along with the numerous artillery, and various other incumbrances by which they were retarded. The extreme severity of the winter was likewise a great impediment to the advance of the imperial armies, and consequently a circumstance very favourable to Holland. While military affairs were thus suspended, the emperor shewed his usual diligence with respect to other matters: He particularly used his utmost endeavours to prevent the German princes from hiring troops to the Dutch, to prevent their recruiting in the empire, and their obtaining a passage through the territories of the several states for such forces or recruits as they might notwithstanding raise. It was said that the language used upon some of these occasions was in a higher tone than was perfectly pleasing: It was likewise said, that he applied to the court of London, to know what part Great Britain would take in the war.

That sovereign seemed so absolutely and inflexibly fixed in all his determinations upon the subject of the Schelde, that it carried the appearance even of approaching to obstinacy. It was reported, and we only give it as such, that a great majority of his generals having expressed their opinions strongly against the war, on account of its nature, difficulties, and probable consequences, he shewed the utmost dissatisfaction upon the occasion, and, without departing in the least from his own determination, gave the warmest approbation to the single voice, which endeavouring to obviate these difficulties and apprehensions, would encourage its prosecution,

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While all Europe contemplated this new and unexpected contest, and several of its powers seemed little disposed to approve of its cause or principle, Russia, who had so lately seduced Holland to enter into the views of her naval ambition, by leading the states into the scheme of the "armed neutrality," (to which all their subsequent misfortunes and present dangers might, with no small justice, be attributed), now took a decided part against the republic, in a business with which she seemed to have very little concern. At the same time that she affected or assumed the office of being a mediator, she held out to the world her fixed determination in support of the emperor's claims, and an utter condemnation of the conduct of Holland in refusing to comply with them. It was likewise known or believed, whether publicly declared or not, that she was engaged to support him with all her forces, in case the interference of any other power in favour of the republic should render her intervention necessary.

The rest of Europe was not, however, at this time disposed to suffer the republic to become a sacrifice to the views and ambition of these two great powers. The part which the Prussian monarch must necessarily have taken in such an attempt was sufficiently obvious; and that which would be pursued by France became now not less apparent. The two crowns were evidently united in opinion upon this subject; and the long visit, which the celebrated Prince Henry of Prussia paid at the court of Versailles, was attributed entirely to it: many supposing that plans were then formed for their future conduct and mutual operation, should affairs be carried to the last extremities. The northern crowns, or at least one of them, seemed to catch the alarm; and such naval and military movements and arrangements took place in Sweden, as occasioned the demand of an explanation from the court of Peterburgh. Even the Porte, upon this occasion, seemed to shake off its native indolence, and to pay an unusual attention to the state of European politics; so that it was generally understood, from their aspect and movements, that the Ottomans were resolved
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not to miss so favourable an opportunity as might now possibly be offered, for returning the recent obligations which they owed to the emperor.

In fact, the private treaty concluded between that prince and Russia in 1782, the objects of which were kept a secret from their nearest friends and allies, although particularly and immediately alarming to the Porte, did not fail to give much umbrage to others, of their neighbours. The continual schemes for the aggrandisement of the house of Austria, which had been pursued, or in some degree adopted by the emperor, and which seemed to keep his mind in constant action; the concurrence, which upon every occasion, they received from his great ally; with the vast ambition and dangerous designs attributed to both; served, all together, to increase this jealousy to a very high degree, and to extend it to no small number of the European princes and states. It was supposed that the ruin of Holland would be only the prelude to other pretensions, which might be extended on every side; while the success in each would serve as an encouragement to farther attempts at forming new arrangements of power, and new partitions of dominion. The fate of Poland could not be forgotten in such a course of consideration; and the reflection might now come home to those, who, thinking themselves out of danger, had paid no regard at the time to the *fire which was consuming their neighbour's house*.

It seemed therefore necessary, that some measure of union should be adopted by the central and western powers of Europe, in order to counterbalance this great northern confederacy, and to obviate its suspected designs and apprehended effects. And if such a measure were to take place, France seemed calculated, from her situation, power, interest in the question, and other circumstances, to be the proper, if not natural, head or centre of such an union.

Indeed, independent of that confederacy, and of her new and growing connexions with Holland, France could not, upon any right principles of policy, behold the ruin of her safe and inoffensive neighbour, the republic,

lic, and the consequent aggrandisement of the emperor upon her ruins, with the vast and dangerous addition which it would have made to his power on that side. These considerations seem to have weighed with the court as well as with the nation; although the ties of affinity between the two monarchs induced the former to use the most conciliatory measures, and to endeavour, so far as it could be done consistently with reason and policy, to avoid proceeding to extremities; but showing a full determination as to the part which they would take, if the emperor's obstinacy should render that issue unavoidable. The measures pursued were accordingly in exact conformity to this mode of thinking, and intention of acting. Above half the standing forces of France had been early, but by degrees, and with little noise or bustle, thrown into quarters upon the borders of Alsace, Lorrain, and the Low Countries; and as things seemed to ripen to an issue, and that appearances became more hostile on the other side, orders were given, and measures taken, to prepare for forming in the ensuing summer two camps in Flanders; one of them of 80,000 men, in the celebrated plains of Lens, which had been rendered memorable by one of the great Condé's splendid victories.

The nation in general, and probably some of the ministers, wished for nothing more than a war, upon the fair ground which the present state of things offered. This did not merely proceed from the restless temper or military disposition of that people, but from the great and tempting national object of annexing the Austrian Low Countries to their monarchy; an acquisition which was considered as certain in case of a war. France had already such a foretaste of the sweets which were to be derived from those rich and fertile provinces, as was sufficient not only to provoke her appetite, but to excite a constant yearning for their permanent possession. During the time that she had held the Netherlands, in the war of 1744, she had drawn, by taxes and contributions, from those provinces, above two millions sterling a year. It is not then to be wondered at, that she should cast a
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wishful eye at so fair and tempting an object, which was just within her grasp; and which nature, situation, and, at this particular time, a train of extraordinary and unexpected concurrent circumstances, seemed to destine to her possession.

The refined policy of statesmen, as well as the schemes of private men, will sometimes produce effects directly contrary to the purposes of the framers. The union between the maritime powers, their prosperity, strength, and alliance with the court of Vienna, afforded the only lasting and solid securities which the house of Austria could have for retaining her possessions in the Netherlands. The rupture between England and Holland, the change of political system in the latter, the losses sustained by both in the late ruinous war, and the consequent weakness which they produced, all tended in their several degrees to weaken these securities. By the advantage which the emperor took of the distress and danger of Holland, in the destruction of the barrier, they were totally dissolved and done away; by that act he irremediably cut off every shadow of security from his own tenure, which must ever after be held at the mercy of France; and he thereby likewise compelled the republic to throw herself entirely, and without reserve, into the arms of that power, than which there could be nothing more directly contrary to his real interests. By his still pursuing the blow farther against the republic, and aiming it now at her very vitals, he was forcing and precipitating France into the execution of a design, which she had ever at heart, but which the ties between the two sovereigns might probably have prevented during their respective lives. For, notwithstanding the great power of the emperor, the vastness of his military force, and the undoubted excellency of his armies, they lay at too great a distance from the scene of action, and France lies too much in their way, to enable him to carry on a war upon any degree of equality against that power in the Low Countries; even supposing Holland to be entirely out of the question, to be considered only as a cypher. His armies must pass, in separate and far-divided columns, fatigued and

worn down by the length and difficulties of their march, along 200 miles of the French frontier, and liable at every step to be cut off, before they could reach the object of their destination; while the provinces in contention, being entirely defenceless, and embraced on every side by France with the strongest holds in the world, would be over-run and possessed by her troops in a week.

Such was the doubtful and critical state of public affairs at the close of the year 1784.

It is now proper to recur to the state of affairs in England. The second session of the new parliament was opened on the 24th of January 1785. The king, in his speech from the throne, recommended to the two houses of parliament, "to apply their earnest attention to the adjustment of such points in the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, as are not yet finally arranged." The state of the Westminster scrutiny was the first business which attracted the notice of the house of commons, as it had now continued for eight months. In this time two parishes only had been scrutinised: The result was, that 105 votes had been struck off the poll of Mr. Fox, and 87 from that of sir Cecil Wray, the examination of which was not yet closed. From the number of votes that remained for future investigation, there existed but little probability that the question relative to the return would be decided before the next general election. The imbecility of the *court of scrutiny* was exposed in the most sarcastic and contemptuous terms; the high bailiff having no power to summon witnesses, to impose an oath, or to commit for contumacy. Mr. Pitt, however, undertook to vindicate the proceedings of this mock judicature, and contended with singular effrontery "that the expediency of the scrutiny was amply justified by the experiment." Mr. Fox, with indignant warmth, replied "that he well remembered the day when he congratulated the house on the acquisition of Mr. Pitt's very promising abilities; it had been his pride to fight in conjunction with him the battles of the constitution; but he had never expected that his rival would become his persecuter. He considered the present
measure

measure with regard to Westminster, to be instituted instead of an expulsion."

On the 9th of February, Mr. Welbore Ellis moved, "that the high bailiff do attend the bar of the house:" but his motion was negatived by 174 to 135 voices. Another motion of a similar tendency was soon after made, and negatived by a majority of nine voices only.

On the 3d of March, Mr. Alderman Sawbridge repeated the motion a third time, when it was carried in the affirmative by 162 against 124; leaving the minister and the veteran phalanx of courtiers, and *king's friends*, in a most disgraceful minority.

Mr. Fox now moved to expunge the resolutions of the 8th of June last, relative to this business, from the journals of the house. But the minister becoming at once seriously alarmed, summoned all his strength to gain a majority upon this occasion; and on a division the motion was negatived by 244 against 139. In consequence of the former vote, however, the high bailiff was ordered to make a return, and Mr. Fox took his seat for Westminster.

Mr. Pitt next drew the public attention to a subject, which tended to revive in his favour all the former flattering prepossessions which had distinguished him. On the 18th of April, he brought forward his plan for a reform in the representation, in some degree varying from his preceding attempts, and in all respects guarded, temperate, and judicious. "He rose, he said, with hopes infinitely more sanguine than he had ventured to entertain at any former period. There never was a moment when the minds of men were more enlightened on this interesting subject, or more prepared for its discussion. He declared his present plan of reform to be perfectly coincident with the spirit of those changes which had taken place in the exercise of the elective franchise from the earliest ages, and not in the least allied to the *spirit of innovation*. It was his design, that the actual number of the house of commons should be preserved inviolate. His immediate object was to select a certain number of the decayed and rotten boroughs, the rights of represent-

ation attached to thirty-six of which should be transferred to the counties, in such proportions as the wisdom of parliament might prescribe, and that a fund of one million should be applied to the purchasing of the franchises of such boroughs, on their voluntary application to parliament. When this was effected, he proposed to extend the bill to the purchasing the franchise of other boroughs, besides the original thirty-six; and to transfer the right of returning members to large towns, hitherto unrepresented, upon their petitioning parliament to be indulged with this privilege."

The admitting of copyholders to an equality with freeholders, and the extending the franchise in populous towns, where the electors were few, to the inhabitants in general, were further particulars of Mr. Pitt's plan.

The most important animadversion in the course of the debate to which this motion gave rise, was made by Mr. Fox, who, justly remarking, "that government was not a property, but a trust," strongly objected to the idea of purchasing of franchises of boroughs, which, from their insignificance, were no longer entitled to send members to parliament. "Whatever was given for constitutional purposes, should be resumed when those purposes were no longer answered." With this and some other less important exceptions, Mr. Fox bestowed upon the plan of the minister a very just and liberal tribute of praise.

Mr. Powys, on the contrary, treated the whole plan with reprobation and ridicule, and called it "the mere knight errantry of a political Quixote." It was an example, a precedent, an incident, an incitement to the wildest, and most paradoxical *nostrums* that speculative theorists could devise. After a long debate the House divided, and the bill was rejected by a majority of 248 to 174.

Mr. Pitt, in consequence of the very able reports presented from time to time by the commissioners of accounts appointed by act of parliament, brought in, during the course of the session, three several bills for the better auditing and examining the public accounts, and for the regulation and reform of the public offices; which passed both

both houses with much applause, and no material opposition. A new commission of examination and control was instituted; many of the inferior departments of office, or heads of service, were consolidated; and the whole now assumed the appearance of a regular and rational system.

The remaining part of the floating arrear of debt, consisting of navy bills and ordnance debentures, was now funded on five per cent. stock; and the interest, amounting to above four hundred thousand pounds, per annum, was provided for by fresh taxes; one of which, a tax on retail shops, calculated at one hundred and twenty thousand pounds per annum, proved singularly obnoxious. It was said to be, under a new denomination, neither more nor less than a partial house tax; and the whole body of retail traders were universally agreed, that it was utterly impracticable, for obvious reasons, to indemnify themselves by raising the price of their different commodities upon the consumer. Mr. Pitt, by way of competence to the shop-keepers proposed by a deed of unprecedented oppression, to revoke and take away the licence from all *hawkers and pedlars*, whom he stiled, "a pest to the community, and a nursery and medium for the preservation of smuggling."

Mr. Fox, struck with the inhumanity of the proposed regulation, generously and powerfully pleaded, in conjunction with Mr. Dempster, Mr. Courtenay, and other gentlemen, though with small success, in behalf of this friendless and unprotected description of men. The result was, that the proposed prohibition was changed to a heavy duty and severe restriction upon these itinerant traders.

A projected plan of commercial intercourse with Ireland engaged the attention of parliament during the present session; but as the public affairs of that kingdom will be recapitulated in the following chapter, let it suffice in this place to observe, that on the 19th of July 1785, the Irish resolutions were sent down from the lords to the commons. After much debate the amendments of their lordships were agreed to

by the commons ; and on the 28th of July, an address was presented to the king by both houses of Parliament, acquainting his majesty with the steps which had been taken in this affair ; adding, “ that it remained for the parliament of Ireland to judge of the conditions according to their wisdom and discretion, as well as of every other part of the settlement proposed to be established by mutual consent.”

The resolutions which were to be the basis of this arrangement having passed both houses, they adjourned on the 2d of August, on a message from the king, till the 27th of October, in order to receive the decision of the Irish parliament ; but in the mean time they were prorogued by proclamation to the 1st day of December.

The curiosity of the people of Great Britain, during the years 1784 and 1785, was attracted by the curious and amazing experiments made with air-balloons. The discovery originated in France with M. Montgolfier, in 1782 ; but the first aerial navigator in England was Mr. Lunardi, who, in the autumn of the year 1784, ascended from the Artillery-ground, near Moorfields, amidst the greatest multitude of people ever known to have assembled in the city of London. After some unavoidable delays in filling the machine, which excited the greatest anxiety in the breasts of the spectators, it rose with great rapidity, and took a direction nearly north ; and, after sailing through the air at an astonishing height, it alighted with Mr. Lunardi in safety, near Ware, in Hertfordshire. The next expedition which was particularly deserving of notice, was Mr. Blanchard's flight across the English channel with Dr. Jefferies.

On Friday the 7th of January 1785, the wind being N. N. W. very moderate, and the sky clear, these gentlemen took their departure for the continent in a balloon, from the castle at Dover. The machine was completely filled by one o'clock, the courageous and intrepid voyagers took their seats, and began to ascend in thirteen minutes afterwards ; when they had gone so far from the cliff as to be over the sea, Mr. Blanchard stood erect

erect in the car and saluted the numerous spectators by bowing and waving his ensign: He was then cheered by the loudest acclamations. The balloon continued its route in an horizontal direction for some time; then appeared to rise; and at one time it was so low, as apparently to touch the sea; then rose again, and was seen much above the cliffs on the French coasts, and disappeared in the horizon far beyond them. The balloon descended at twenty-five minutes past three, in the Forest de Felmores, in France. This was one of the boldest and most singular attempts ever made by man. Mr. Blanchard and Dr. Jefferies had the honour of being the first aerial mariners.

The rage for these experiments received a very considerable check from the unfortunate death of M. Pilâtre du Rosiere, who was the first person that, in the preceding year, had ascended in France. On the 15th of June 1785, this gentleman, in company with M. Romaine, ascended in a balloon from Boulogne at a quarter past seven in the morning. The machine was of a complicated kind; being composed of a balloon filled with inflammable air, and another on M. Montgolfier's plan, filled with rarified air, or vapour from a fire in the car attached to the balloon. For the first twenty minutes, they appeared to take the best possible direction; when, for a few seconds they appeared stationary; then took a direction to the left towards Portée; then a contrary direction; and at about three quarters of a mile's height the whole was in flames, from the fire of the Montgolfier, and fell with incredible velocity on Huitmille Warren, where the two unfortunate adventurers were found, instantly on their fall, with almost all their limbs broken, and they immediately expired. The whole scene lasted about fifty minutes. The unfortunate M. Pilâtre de Rosiere, we have already intimated, was the person that ventured first to sail through the unexplored fields of air, in company with M. de Ariande, at Paris. He was a man of extraordinary knowledge and science; and his love and ardent desire of improving aerostation, may be said to have effected the termination of his existence.

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We shall close this chapter with an account of the public affairs, which, at this time agitated Germany, France, and Holland.

It was in the height of the contest about the Schelde, when the public attention was fully engrossed, and the emperor's mind supposed to be entirely occupied by that momentous subject, that the world was astonished by the opening of a new source of jealousy and discord in Germany. What rendered this new business entirely unaccountable was, that it not only seemed in its nature, principle, and design, to run directly counter to all the measures which that prince had hitherto pursued, and was still with no less apparent eagerness and determination pursuing, with respect to Holland and the Schelde, but at once shut out all the avowed and imputed views, from which the contest was supposed to originate.

This new subject of alarm and contention was no less, than the proposed or supposed exchange of an ancient and great electorate in the heart of Germany, for the Austrian Netherlands; those very Netherlands upon whose account the emperor seemed at the time on the point of encountering all the hazards of a war, whose consequences (as had been well observed, and strongly urged by the court of Versailles) could not be calculated.

Ambition and vanity seldom grow old; and the lure of a crown was supposed to have been successfully held out to the elector palatine, in order to induce him to an exchange of the dutchy of Bavaria, including all those appendages which were left and confirmed to it by the treaty of Teschen, for the Austrian Netherlands, which were to be constituted a kingdom, under the revived denomination of Austrasia. Nothing could certainly have been more advantageous to the house of Austria, or more consonant to its views of supreme greatness, than this exchange: For, exclusive of the precarious tenure by which the Low Countries were held, and which was now perhaps more sensibly felt than at any former time, the accession of so large and considerable a country as Bavaria, rendered still more important by its peculiar situation, besides rounding and completing the Austrian dominions, would

would have consolidated such a great and compacted body of power, as nothing afterwards in the empire, considering the division and general weakness of its states, could be supposed able in any degree to counterpoise.

On the other hand, it would seem that nothing less than the passion of filling a throne for however short a time, and the empty gratification of leaving a name enrolled in the mouldering catalogues of forgotten kings, could have induced the elector, at his time of life, and without children, to enter into a measure so disagreeable to his subjects, so dangerous to his co-estates of the empire, and so unjust to his apparent heirs and presumptive successors; as the dominion which he was to obtain bore no adequate proportion, in the great objects of extent, number of inhabitants, importance, or security, to the country which he was to give in exchange.

No season, however, could well be chosen, that was less favourable to the carrying of such a measure into execution, than the present. The attention of Europe was already much roused by the northern alliance, and by a succession of measures or projects which were supposed to have arisen from it; so that the more distant as well as the nearer powers began now to entertain no small jealousy of the conduct and views of these two great empires, whose union appeared to be so strictly cemented, that they were scarcely to be considered in any other point of view than that of acting under the same common influence of design, and under the impulse of the same common interest in every thing. In such a disposition and state of circumstances, it was scarcely reasonable to expect, that an innovation in the constitution of the Germanic body, as well as in the general system of European policy, could by any means pass unquestioned; or indeed that the attempt would not be attended with much difficulty and danger.

The negotiation upon this intended barter was conducted with such extreme closeness and secrecy, that no suspicion of the design was entertained, even by those who were the most immediately interested in, and would be the most deeply affected by the measure, until the
treaty

treaty was supposed to be already far advanced, if not absolutely concluded. This business was likewise attended with the peculiar circumstance of its existence having been in the first instance absolutely denied, and never after fully acknowledged, by the contracting parties themselves. A letter from the empress of Russia to the duke of Deuxponts, tending to induce him to an acquiescence in, if not a confirmation of, the proposed scheme of exchange or barter, was the first intelligence which that prince, the presumptive heir and successor to the elector palatine in all his estates, dominions, and titles, received, that any such design was in agitation. This letter was probably received about the close of the year 1784, as the king of Prussia was informed of the whole affair by the duke, who claimed his interference and protection as a guarantee of the treaty of Teschen, early in the following month of January.

In whatever terms the duke's answer was conveyed, it was so ill taken by the court of Peterburgh, that the refusal was probably very peremptory. The king of Prussia immediately remonstrated strongly with that court upon the subject, as having been a mediator of the peace of Teschen, and being a guarantee to the treaty. The empress, in her answer, declared, that she had conceived this project to be the only sure means of preventing a war; that upon this ground she very seriously wished for its being carried into immediate execution; that these sentiments had indeed dictated the letter written by her to the duke of Deuxponts, inviting him in the most friendly manner, to come into the scheme; but finding herself ill requited for her good offices, so far as could be judged from the answer which she received from the duke, which was of a tenour that she neither could nor should give any reply to, she had dropped all farther concern in the business; and the empress declared to the king, that she had no intentions to enforce the execution of this project, excepting that the parties more immediately concerned should fully agree to it.

But, previous to this developement of the business by the empress of Russia, both the courts of Munich and Vienna

Vienna had thought it necessary publicly to contradict the reports which were spread upon the subject, and to assert, that they were unfounded; and though the expressions were loose and general, they were evidently intended to convey an idea that no such design had existed. The states of Bavaria were so exceedingly alarmed at the report, that the elector thought it necessary to give them some satisfaction on the subject. He assured them, in a written document, dated on the 13th of February 1785. that the reports spread of a pretended treaty between him and the imperial court, relative to an exchange of country, were without foundation; that the convention between him and that court, which had been lately ratified, related only to the adjustment of limits; and that he had already ordered an extract of that treaty, so far as it concerned the provincial states, to be communicated to them.

Though this answer seemed to afford some temporary satisfaction, yet it was soon considered as not being sufficiently explicit; a general apprehension and alarm was spread among the people; and the order of burghers joined the nobles in the most pressing solicitations to the elector for a farther and clearer explanation. The discontents excited upon this occasion served to renew with additional force those old animosities, which, through a long course of mutual injuries and cruel wars, had for ages subsisted between the inhabitants of Bavaria and the Palatinate. This ill temper became so prevalent, that all the powers of discipline and despotism were scarcely sufficient to prevent the Bavarian and electoral troops from proceeding to the most dangerous extremities. It was even said to have pervaded the elector's palace and court; and it was reported, that the very grooms could not be prevented from coming to blows in his stables.

While the emperor, by a course of policy not very explicable, nor seemingly well connected, was strowing the seeds of foreign jealousy and commotion; the multifarious projects which he adopted at home, and the continual innovations in all the established forms of internal government, laid such a foundation of discontent in a
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very great and valuable part of his subjects, as seemed capable, in its consequences, of interfering in no small degree with his foreign views.

The emperor, in the course of his numberless schemes of reform, had trenched deeply upon the civil and religious establishments of Hungary. He had new modelled their courts of justice, and reduced their number from thirty-eight, which was that of the districts into which the kingdom was divided, to ten only; which was considered as a number insufficient for its due administration in so extensive a country. He had introduced the German mode of military conscription; than which nothing could have been more odious to the people, into Hungary and the adjoining provinces. He had likewise abridged the power, influence, and privileges of the nobility; and seemed intent upon placing that kingdom under the same form of government with his Austrian provinces. The vast armies which were kept on the frontiers to awe the Turks, served to give a sanction to these measures, but could not lessen the discontent of the people.

The rude peasants, inhabiting the mountainous and woody countries which form the borders between Transylvania and the Austrian Wallachia, blind to consequences, and equally ignorant of their own force and condition for war, as they were of that which they were to encounter, broke out into an open, and, until its extent could be known, alarming rebellion, towards the close of the year 1784. It does not appear clearly, whether this revolt proceeded from their aversion to the new military conscription, in consequence of which they had been lately inrolled, and arms placed in their hands, or whether it was occasioned by the oppression of their lords. It is probable that the operation of both causes concurred in the event; but however that was, their fury fell indiscriminately upon the nobility and the public officers. Their numbers amounted to fourteen or fifteen thousand; and so totally ignorant were they of public affairs, and of all the circumstances of their situation, that they ventured to elect one of their chiefs, and a peasant like
themselves,

themselves, named Horiah, to be their king; and this extraordinary representative of majesty had a seal actually made, with the representation of a spear piercing a heart, and the motto of "*Horiah, Rex Daciae*," inscribed on it.

These savage and infatuated peasants committed the most horrible cruelties. They attacked the nobility separately in their castles, which they every where destroyed, and massacred whole families, without distinction of age or sex. About 200 of the nobility were butchered in this manner, before they had time either to escape or to make any effectual preparation for defence. The numbers and fierceness of the rebels supplying the want of discipline and military skill, they for some time repeatedly defeated such small detachments of troops as could be hastily collected to oppose their ravages.

Though this state of things could not be lasting, yet, through the nature and difficulties of their rude country, as well as the distance of the royal forces, the rebellion subsisted for three or four months before it could be finally suppressed. The insurgents had, however, the courage or rashness to venture a general action with the Austrian forces, in which they dearly purchased a full knowledge of their insufficiency to support such a contention, being routed without difficulty, and a considerable slaughter made, with little loss to the victors. The mock king, Horiah, with their two other principal leaders, having been betrayed by their own followers, as Pugatcheff had, in a similar enterprise some years before in Russia, were surprised, and taken alive in a cave. One of these found means to hang himself with a very narrow undiscovered girdle, which he wore next to his skin, possibly for that purpose. Horiah, and the other, were sent about as a public spectacle, to undergo different parts of their allotted punishment, in the scenes of their greatest enormities, and in the sight of their deluded followers. A fixed number of the inhabitants from each of the rebellious districts were at length obliged to attend at the place of execution, in order to behold their miserable exit upon the wheel. The tragedy did

not entirely end here; for the prisons being over-crowded by the great number of prisoners taken; they soon generated a pestilential distemper, which was not only fatal to many of these unhappy people, but did much mischief in the country; so that, instead of thinking of farther punishment, besides throwing the prison doors open, the recovery of the infected, and the means of preventing the contagion from spreading farther, became the only objects of attention.

In the mean time, the ever vigilant monarch of Prussia was taking the most efficacious measures for preventing the exchange of Bavaria, for protecting in all respects the rights, and for preserving from violation those family conventions, by which the different branches of the Palatine line were mutually bound to each other and to the empire. For these purposes, and to counteract the effect of that dangerous union, and of that vast power which might be combined against himself singly, he found it necessary to form an alliance and confederation with those neighbouring princes, who were equally interested in preserving entire the Germanic system and the constitution of the empire, and whose joint power might be sufficient to give effect to their union.

Nothing could be more vexatiously alarming to the court of Vienna, nor any thing more subversive, in various respects, of its views. The manner in which it was felt, and the deep resentment which it inspired, were sufficiently obvious, from the bitterness which was expressed against its great framer, who was described as little less than being the common disturber of mankind, as well as of Germany; while not only the present alarm, but all the evils which might in consequence of it distract the empire, and possibly involve it in blood and ruin, were imputed to the inordinate ambition and sinister designs of that monarch.

The court of Vienna had shifted its ground, so far as its communications to the public went, with respect to the affair of Bavaria. At first it was generally disavowed; the report declared to be totally unfounded; and strong insinuations thrown out, that it originated in a certain

certain quarter, where an insidious disposition to perplex the affairs, and to disturb the peace of the empire, was constantly prevalent. But after the proposal from Russia to the duke of Deuxponts, and the promulgation of the business by that prince, the existence, or absolute conclusion of the treaty seemed only to be denied, while the measure in itself was justified; the competency both of the emperor and the elector to make any amicable exchange of territories, which might suit their mutual interest or convenience, being strenuously insisted on; while it was held out that such a measure, being unaccompanied with force or violence, and calculated equally for the accommodation or advantage of both parties, could not in any degree be considered either as a violation of the general laws of the empire, or a breach of any particular treaties.

In the midst of these complicated affairs, while something was likewise to be apprehended from the movements and dispositions of the Ottomans, the emperor had points of the greatest importance to his interests, and very near to his heart, to carry within the empire, against which a part of his foreign policy militated in the strongest manner. These were no less, than the election of his nephew, and presumptive successor in his hereditary dominions, the archduke Francis, son to the great duke of Tuscany, to the dignity of king of the Romans, which could only preserve the empire in his family; and the other was of little less importance, being the erection of a ninth electorate, to supply the chasm in that body, which the extinction of the house of Bavaria had occasioned.

The candidates for the new electorate were the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and the duke of Wirtembergh. The former, from his power, wealth, and extent of dominion, would undoubtedly stand alone as a claimant, if no other considerations than these were to interfere; but the duke of Wirtembergh's eldest daughter being consort to the grand duke of Russia, and his youngest the intended spouse of the archduke Francis, the emperor's apparent heir, it was of the greatest importance to

these two powers, that he should be promoted to the rank and office of ninth elector, as well for securing thereby a majority of suffrages in favour of the intended king of the Romans, as for more remote causes. Nothing then could seem more irreconcilable with the pursuit of these objects, than the exciting and spreading that general alarm and apprehension of his designs among the numerous members of the Germanic body, which it was impossible that the attempt of uniting Bavaria to the Austrian dominions, upon whatever conditions or under whatever pretence, should not occasion, even if the whole Palatine line had consented to the transfer.

The new treaty of union and confederation, for maintaining the indivisibility of the empire, the rights of the Germanic body in general, and of the respective states in particular, was signed at Berlin on the 23d of July 1785; the principal parties being the king of Prussia, the king of Great Britain, as elector of Brunswick Lunenburgh, and the elector of Saxony. The margrave of Anspach, the duke of Deuxponts, and some other princes, were either then or soon after included in it; and it was either known or supposed, that it had received the sanction of several others of no small power (among whom Sweden was mentioned), who were ready, if the occasion required, to become parties to the alliance.

As the court of Vienna had omitted no means in its progress to prevent this league of union from being carried into execution, so the resentment now shown was proportioned to the vexation which it excited. Circular declarations were publicly addressed to all the courts of Europe and states of the empire, endeavouring to give an odious colour to the treaty, and exclaiming against it, as being founded only on private, sinister, and ambitious designs, as tending to disturb the peace of the empire, and as being in its nature and design inimical to the Germanic constitution, and to the liberties and rights of that body.

In the mean time the imperial ministers at the German courts were instructed strongly to represent the mischiefs and dangers of such confederations; that, besides their
being

being injurious to the body at large, individual members, by acceding to them, were imposing fetters on themselves, as they would thereby be restrained from those amicable, neighbourly, or family exchanges of territory, or arrangement of limits, which might be equally convenient and serviceable to the parties on both sides; and which could not in any degree be considered as the smallest violation of the constitution of the Germanic body. They were likewise to press strongly, in the emperor's name, those states which had not declared themselves, for an open, precise, and categorical answer, as to their determination on that point; and if the answer was favourable, to propose the question, whether they did not think it might be necessary to form a counter alliance, in order to oppose those violent enterprises against the constitution, which were to be apprehended from the former. If this leading question was agreed to, they were then to require their accession to an alliance, which his imperial majesty had suggested for the defence of the constitution.

There is no room for supposing that this scheme of a counter alliance was productive of any effect.

On the other side, the king of Prussia communicated to those sovereigns who were by treaty or interest connected with the Germanic body, a declaration, signed at Berlin on the 23d of August 1785, containing an exposition of the causes and motives which not only led to the new German confederation, but which rendered the measure absolutely necessary for the preservation of the empire. In this piece, after delineating the conduct and apparent views of the court of Vienna; exposing the futility of the distinction, with respect to its consequences, between a forced and voluntary exchange of Bavaria; and refuting the position held up on the other side, that the latter would be neither a violation of the Germanic constitution, nor a breach of particular treaties; he proceeds to show the dangerous tendency and consequences of that measure, if permitted to be carried into execution. He states, that the addition of so fine and so extensive a country as Bavaria to the dominion of the

house of Austria, which already preponderated too much in the scale, would take away all balance of power in Germany; that the security, as well as the liberty of all the states of the empire, would then depend only upon the discretion of that house; and he exclaims, that that great and powerful house ought to be contented with its vast monarchy, and not to think any more of an acquisition so alarming, not only to Germany, but to all Europe.

The reception which this declaration of the king's generally met at the courts to which it was communicated, was by no means flattering to the hopes or encouraging to the views of the court of Vienna. Even the republic of Holland, critical as its own situation still was with the emperor, gave the warmest approbation to this alliance, for securing the peace of the empire, and maintaining the rights of the Germanic body. At Petersburg only the communication was received rather coldly. The empress declared to the count de Goertz, ambassador from the king of Prussia, that not seeing the Germanic constitution threatened with any danger, and thinking it sufficiently secured by the treaties of Westphalia and Teschen, as well as by the solemn assurances which she had herself given, in conjunction with the emperor, she could not persuade herself that the confederacy, though it might easily give occasion to jealousy and mistrust in the several states, could in the least contribute to put the constitution and liberties of Germany on a surer foundation.

During these transactions, the preparations for an immediate war in Germany had been carried on with great and equal vigour and industry on both sides. Indeed this result of the dispute seemed to be considered so much as a certainty on one side, that the emperor had his magazines removed into the interior countries, from those parts of Bohemia and the adjoining provinces which were most liable to a sudden irruption of the Prussian armies. But the confederation, the countenance of the neighbouring powers, the approbation which the Prussian memorial met with, and the apparent general indisposition of
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the German states to the scheme of barter, seemed altogether to have retarded the enterprise, and to afford time for a more moderate disposition to take place. The question upon the exchange of Bavaria was suffered to die away, without further explanation or discussion; and as the appearance of hostility ceased on the one side, they were of course discontinued on the other.

While the storm of war, thus unexpectedly turned from the Schelde, was hanging over the mountains of Bohemia, Saxony, and Silesia, the republic of Holland had leisure to recover from its first surprise; and sedulously seized the unhoped-for opportunity of providing effectually at home for the worst that might happen, and of endeavouring at the same time to ward off the evil and danger by an accommodation. France was, however, her shield of defence; and through the ability and firmness of that great minister, the count de Vergennes, the republic could not have had a more effectual security.

It was impossible that the queen of France should not be deeply affected by a contest, which so closely involved her nearest and dearest connexions, and threatened so immediate and perhaps irreparable a breach of the harmony and friendship subsisting between them. It was reported at the time, that on the morning of a day upon which a grand council was to be held, the result of which it was supposed would be conclusive with respect to the part that France should take, if the emperor persevered in pushing his designs against Holland to the last extremity, that amiable princess took an opportunity of meeting M. de Vergennes on his way to the council, and, with a countenance deeply expressive of her anxiety and dismay, said, she hoped he would not on that day forget that the emperor was her brother! To which the minister replied that he certainly should not; but that he was bound likewise to remember, that the king of France was her husband, and the dauphin her son.

The interposition and mediation of France was undoubtedly much facilitated in its effect, by the state of affairs in Germany, and the uncertainty of the event with respect to Bavaria. The emperor's inflexibility

was not, however, easily subdued; and so many difficulties were thrown in the way of an accommodation, that through a great part of the year 1785 it seemed yet very doubtful what turn affairs might finally take. That prince's frequent absence from his capital, at seasons when affairs of the greatest importance were in agitation, occasioned likewise much delay in the transacting of business of moment at the court of Vienna.

As princes seldom miss any favourable opportunity of obtaining money from their subjects, and that it was impossible any season could be more auspicious to such a purpose in the Netherlands than the present, when the spirits of the people were highly exalted at the prospect of a war supposed to be undertaken solely for the recovery of their rights, the states of Brabant, both ecclesiastical and secular, were summoned by the imperial minister, in the beginning of March 1785, to demand, in his master's name, a loan of four millions of florins, to be paid in such manner as should be afterwards settled. This money was granted by the assembly with all the facility that the present circumstances indicated.

The negotiations for an accommodation between the emperor and Holland were in the course of the summer resumed at Paris, under the auspices of the French prime minister. And, towards the latter end of June, the barons de Waffanaar and Leyden set out from the Hague, as deputies from the republic to the court of Vienna. The object of this deputation seems to have been that merely of making such concessions on the part of the republic as might accord with the emperor's ideas of dignity, particularly with respect to the insult offered to his flag; a point in which he seemed to think his honour so much concerned, that nothing less than satisfaction on that head could open the way to an accommodation.

That sovereign having at length (July 24th, 1785,) returned to Vienna, after a long tour in Italy and elsewhere, granted an audience to the Dutch deputies. Their speech to the emperor upon this occasion was as submissive as it well might be. They declared, that the states never had the smallest intention either of offering
injury

injury to his imperial majesty, or insult to his flag : That through the whole train of circumstances which had occurred, they had invariably regulated their conduct in such a manner, as upon every occasion unquestionably to show the great regard and respect which they entertained for his imperial majesty, so far as this could be done consistently with their own independence, their undoubted rights, and their honour : That there was nothing they wished more sincerely, than to see that cordial amity, which had so unfortunately been interrupted, again renewed ; and that they might be enabled to treat his subjects upon the same footing with those of the republic.

The emperor's answer, though stately, was satisfactory ; and, while it sustained the dignity, and did not conceal the superiority of the speaker, conveyed a hint to the states, of the propriety, if not necessity of celerity in their proceedings, if they hoped to profit of the present favourable opportunity of healing the rupture. He told them, that it was highly pleasing to him that the republic had, by their deputation, complied with what he had required, as necessary to precede an accommodation ; that he should order his ambassador at Paris to resume the negotiations, under the mediation of his brother, the king of France ; and he did not doubt but a speedy conclusion would prevent the unhappy occurrences, which must be the unavoidable consequence of a farther delay.

But notwithstanding the favourable omens that now appeared, some difficulties afterwards arose, which had nearly interrupted the negotiations, and occasioned for a time a renewal of the preparations for war and defence in the Low Countries. These arose upon the affair of Mastricht ; for the emperor insisting upon the payment of a very large sum of money on that account, the states wanted to bring up the old Silesia loan (being money which had been lent to the emperor Charles the VIth, upon the security of the revenues of that dutchy), and to place it as a set-off against a part of that demand. It is not always prudent to lend money to the power-

powerful ; nor is it at all times safe to demand its payment. This proposal was received with the highest indignation ; and it required all the abilities of a Vergennes to prevent its proving fatal to the treaty. The mortgaged estate had changed its owner ; the present emperor had received none of the money ; and he neither was now, nor ever had been in possession of Silesia. The states not only found it necessary to recede from this proposition, but had reason to think themselves fortunate that it produced no farther consequence.

The preliminary articles of peace between the emperor and the states general were signed at Paris on the 20th of September 1785. In less than two months after*, the definitive treaty was finally concluded, and signed at Fontainebleau by all the parties, under the guarantee, as well as mediation, of his most Christian majesty.

The treaty of Munster was laid down as the basis of the present, and its stipulations to be in all cases binding, where they were not expressly excepted by the new clauses. The principal articles were, That the states acknowledged the emperor's absolute and independent sovereignty over every part of the Schelde, from Antwerp to the limits of the county of Saftingen, conformably to a line drawn in 1664 ; they, of course, renouncing the right of levying any tax or impost on that part of the river, and binding themselves not to interrupt in any manner the commerce or navigation of his subjects thereon : That the rest of the river, beyond those limits to the sea, together with the canals of the Sas, the Swin, and the other neighbouring mouths of the sea, were to continue under the sovereignty of the states general, conformably to the treaty of Munster : That the states should evacuate and demolish the forts of Kruischans and Frederic Henry, and cede the territories to his imperial majesty : That to give a new proof to the emperor, of their desire to establish the most perfect intelligence between the two countries, the states consented to evacuate, and to submit to his discretion,

Nov. 8th, 1785.

the forts of Lillo and of Liefkenshoek, with the fortifications in their present condition; only reserving to themselves the right of withdrawing the artillery and ammunition.

Thus was Holland, as if it were a winding-up of the calamities and losses brought upon her by the late unfortunate war, compelled to purchase, at a large expense in money, present peace, and a future doubtful security, from a new and unexpected enemy. It would seem, from the emperor's letter of acknowledgement to Prince Kaunitz, for his ability and services in the conduct and conclusion of this business, as well as from the presents which he made to the negotiators, that its issue had been highly satisfactory to that sovereign. The money was undoubtedly useful and welcome; but it does not seem, upon the whole, that this affair was considered as redounding much to his honour as a sovereign, or as affording any great increase to his reputation as a politician.

The count de Vergennes acquired the honour to his country, and the glorious distinction to himself, of being the pacificator-general of the universe. It could not but be a grievous consideration to Englishmen, that, while France, through the happiness of great ministers at home, and their choice of able negotiators abroad, was spreading her consequence, and extending her influence through the nations of the earth, Great Britain, through some unaccountable fatality, seemed to be fallen from that high seat, in which she had so long and so gloriously presided, and to be no longer considered, or almost remembered, in the general politics and system of Europe.

In two days after the treaty of peace between the emperor and Holland had been signed, the new treaty of alliance between that republic and France was likewise concluded, and finally ratified on the following Christmas-day. This treaty was founded upon all the principles which could serve to bind and cement, in the closest and most indissoluble union of which they were capable, distinct nations under distinct governments; whereby they might mutually participate, in peace or

in war, of good or of evil; and in all cases administer the most perfect aid, counsel, and succour to each other.

Besides the general stipulations of the parties contributing every thing in their power for mutual security, and for their respective preservation in tranquillity, peace, and neutrality, they guaranteed each other in the actual possession of all their estates, domains, franchises, and liberties, and mutually bound themselves to protect each other from all hostile attacks in every part of the world. If their united good offices and exertions for the preservation of peace, with respect to either, should prove ineffectual, they were to assist each other by sea and land, in the following proportions, viz. France to furnish Holland with 10,000 effective infantry, 2000 cavalry, with twelve ships of the line, and six frigates; and their high mightinesses, in case of a marine war, or that France shall meet with any hostilities by sea, should furnish six ships of the line, and three frigates; and in case of an attack upon the territory of France, the states general should have the option of furnishing their land contingent as they chole, either in money or troops, at the estimate of 5000 infantry, and 1000 cavalry.

To cement the union still more strongly, a treaty of commerce was stipulated, by which the subjects on either side were to be treated and considered by the other as the most favoured nation. And, by one of the separate articles of the present, it was stipulated, that both parties should, as much as possible, further their mutual prosperity and advantage.

The effect hitherto produced by repeated attacks on the side of Spain upon Algiers, had indeed been very unfavourable to all the Christian states bordering upon the Mediterranean. Their ill success served at once to increase, in a very extraordinary degree, the confidence, fierceness, and cruelty of the Barbarians; and, while they excited their adventure and revenge, inspired them with no small contempt of the courage and military prowess of their enemies. Their land forces, now inured to war, had learned to withstand regular attacks
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with firmness, and to make light of the bursting of shells, and the roar of cannon; they had likewise procured good engineers, lined their coasts with batteries, and covered them with a powerful artillery.

On the other hand, while they spared no pains or expense in providing for security at home, their hostile exertions, both in the ocean and the Mediterranean, went far beyond any thing that had been known since the days of the Barbarossas, whether with respect to enterprise, courage, or effect; and differed only from the boldest enterprises of those tyrants of the sea, in their being unmixed and purely naval, and the force not being in any degree, or at least in any given point, so vast. The improvements in their marine, in the construction and working of their vessels, notwithstanding the aids which they derived from European artificers in building, and renegadoes in manning them, was not a little astonishing. The Algerine corsairs were now built upon the model of the best European frigates; and the desperate intrepidity with which, under whatever disparity of force, they fought them to the very last extremity, with the skill and address which they displayed in action, would not have disgraced the flag of any maritime power whatever. Indeed it seemed necessary, that their cruelty should prevent the admiration excited by their courage, and that their being pirates should prevent their actions from being considered as heroic.

Spain, along with her own great preparation, thought it necessary now to call in the assistance of such of her friends and neighbours, as were from situation in circumstances similar to her own. Portugal and Naples were not less interested in quelling the rapacity of that nest of pirates than herself; and Malta embarked professionally in all such enterprises. The Venetians, indeed, were already engaged in a war with Tunis; and had for some time been farther involved in a very troublesome dispute with their younger sister, the republic of Holland; which, though proceeding only from a private mercantile or pecuniary transaction of no great value, had been conducted with such a temper on both

sides, as more than once threatened the most serious consequences.

The combined armament amounted to above 130 sail, composed of the same orders of vessels which we have heretofore described; and it was computed, that more than 16,000 seamen were employed in their equipment. The ships of the line, for protecting and covering the attacks, were more numerous, and of greater bulk and weight of metal than in the former expedition; the rates rising from sixty-four to more than eighty guns. Of these, four were Spanish, two Maltese, one Sicilian, and two Portuguese. Three Maltese galleys, and an equal number of Spanish, were very full of men, their complement (the slaves we presume included) being little short of 600 each. The boats for guns, mortars, and howitzers, were entirely Spanish, and amounted to 71. The Neapolitans and Maltese furnished a proportion of the other vessels. The conduct of this enterprise, as of the former, was committed to admiral Don Antonio Barcelo.

The armament arrived before Algiers earlier (July 9th) than in the preceding year, and the first attack took place three days after. The Algerines were in a much more formidable state of preparation than at any former period. They had not only adopted the Spanish method of constructing gun-boats, to a number at least equal with those of the assailants, but seem to have improved on the model; for they are said to have been stronger and more effective. They did not, however, venture out to meet the combined armament, which seems to have been expected, but their ships, galleys, and boats were drawn up with great judgment, and in excellent order, at about half cannon-shot distance, in the front of their forts and batteries, which were covered with a tremendous artillery.

The first attack was very violent, and supported with the greatest vigour and courage for above ten hours; nor was the resistance less fierce. Some boats were blown up on both sides, but more on that of the Algerines; the town was likewise set on fire by the shells, and con-
tinued

tinued to burn for some hours. The damage, however, does not appear to have been very considerable, and it was all that the town sustained; for in seven succeeding attacks, which took place between the 12th and 21st of July, the combined forces were never able to approach near enough for the shells to take effect; and are said to have been in every one repulsed with loss, and furiously pursued by the Algerines, even under the cannon of the covering line of battle ships.

Immense quantities of powder were consumed, and much shot and shells expended on both sides, in the course of this frequent action; while the emulation between the different nations engaged in the combined armament occasioned a continual display of the greatest valour. A knight of Malta, who commanded or fought in one of the galleys, declares in a letter, "that nothing could exceed the gallantry of the combined fleets, except the warlike spirit of the infidels." Though the enterprise neither was, nor could be attended with the success that was wished or expected; yet, it was generally acknowledged, that the commander in chief, Don Antonio Barcelo, gained the highest applause and honour by his conduct and gallantry through its whole course. He even proposed and strongly contended, notwithstanding the repeated failure which they had experienced, to make a final general attack, with a view of storming and forcing their way into the port; and to give the greater efficacy to the design, intended to have gone himself on board one of the bomb vessels; but in this he was opposed by the uniform opinion of all the commanders, both natives and allies, who remonstrated against it, upon the greatness of the danger, and the little prospect there was of its producing any adequate effect.

It must afford a grateful satisfaction to every Englishman to find, that even in this distant enterprise, and in which we had no concern, the martial and naval renown of his country should have been nobly supported by the gallantry of an individual. Mr. Henry Vernon, nephew to the brave and once celebrated admiral of that name, having served as a volunteer in this expedition, distin-

guished himself with such marked enterprize, conduct, and gallantry, in all the most arduous occasions which were afforded by the various attacks and retreats which took place in the severe conflicts with this fierce enemy, as to attract the notice and excite the admiration of all the commanders of the different nations present. In one of these, he is said to have saved the life of Don Barcelo, when the boat in which they both were was struck by a cannon-shot from one of the forts. And though he was wounded in the 7th attack, yet, in so conspicuous a light was his valour and merit considered, that it was intended he should command one of the two leading ships, which were to attempt forcing their way into the port, in the final attack proposed by Don Barcelo.

It being agreed in a council of war, that nothing farther could be attempted with any probability of success against the place, their ammunition likewise being nearly exhausted, and the weather becoming foul, it was determined to return to Spain. But before the necessary preparations could be well made, such a tempest came on in the night of the 22d of July, that the ships were obliged incontinently to put out to sea; and it was supposed that they left more than an hundred anchors and cables behind in taking their leave of Algiers.

CHAP. XXI.

Retrospective view of the state of affairs in Ireland—Meeting of the Irish volunteers—A parliamentary reform proposed—Resolutions agreed to by the Irish parliament—Taken into consideration by the British senate—The British parliament assemble—The duke of Richmond's scheme of fortification---Mr. Pitt's proposals for reducing the national debt---The king wishes the debts on the civil list to be paid by parliament---Accusation of Mr. Hastings—Mr. Hastings heard at the bar of the commons---Mr. Dundas's bill for amending the India act of 1784---The king's speech---Parliament prorogued---Margaret Nicholson attempts to stab the king---The loss of the Halsewell Indiaman---State of the neighbouring nations---Death of the king of Prussia---Commercial treaty between England and France---Disputes in Holland---Subscriptions for supporting the armed burghers and volunteers---Memorial from the court of Versailles—Elbourg and Hattem reduced by the Stadtholder---Violent ferment in consequence of taking those towns---State of Prussia and the Porte.

[A. D. 1786.]

IT was observed in the last chapter, that the parliament of Great Britain, in the spring of 1785, paid great attention to the arrangement of a plan of commercial intercourse between England and Ireland, and that the result of their deliberations upon that subject was transmitted to the Irish senate for their consideration. In order to elucidate those transactions, it was deemed necessary to take a retrospective view of public affairs in Ireland for some time previous to that period.

By several acts of parliament which passed in the year 1780, the commerce of Ireland was freed from those ruinous restrictions, with which it had been shackled by the narrow prejudices and bad policy of the British nation.

In the year 1782, the declaratory act of George the Second was repealed; and by another statute, which passed in the following year, the authority of the British parliament, in all matters both of legislation and jurisdiction, were renounced, and the political independence of the kingdom of Ireland was completely established.

The only object therefore that remained for the consideration of the respective governments of each country, was the settlement of a system of a commercial intercourse betwixt the two kingdoms upon a firm and permanent basis.

Before we enter upon this part of our history, it may be necessary to take a short retrospective view of the internal state of affairs in that country.

The spirit of reforming the constitution, by shortening the duration of parliaments, and establishing a more equal representation of the people, which broke out in Great Britain about the year 1779, passed over at the same period into the kingdom of Ireland. It has always been questioned, whether any considerable part of the people of England, however unpopular the house of commons may at times have rendered itself to the nation, was at all dissatisfied with the established mode of representation, or expected any effectual relief from the more frequent return of elections.

In Ireland, these projects of reformation certainly met with a much more general reception—a circumstance not difficult to be accounted for, when we consider the ferment which then existed in that kingdom, and how favourable such moments are to every species of political innovation.

In the year 1779, the parliament of Ireland, in their addresses to the throne, had in firm and manly language demanded the restoration of their commercial freedom. In order to give effect to this requisition, resolutions were entered into by the inhabitants of the trading towns to prevent the importation of British manufactures; and these resolutions were often enforced with a degree of violence and outrage, which the civil authority of the country was unable to restrain. This vigorous and deter-
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mined spirit of the people had a forcible effect upon the deliberations of parliament; all new supplies for the current services of the executive government were denied; and the trust of the old revenue, which had usually been voted for two years, was restricted to six months. A mutiny bill was also passed for the king's army in Ireland, which before had always been regulated under the authority of an act of the British legislature.

The passing of the mutiny bill was a step that went in its principle so evidently and so directly to the acknowledgment of the independence of the kingdom of Ireland, that it is not easy to conceive how it came to meet with so little opposition from administration, or to receive so readily the sanction of the British cabinet, unless we suppose that the circumstance of its being made perpetual had rendered it acceptable to government. But in Ireland, where one great constitutional principle appears to have been sacrificed merely for the purpose of establishing another, it was easy to foresee that they would not long submit to a restriction, which rendered the advantage they had obtained not only not useful, but dangerous to their constitution.

Accordingly, in the following session, an attempt was made to get rid of the obnoxious part of the bill, by repealing the clause of perpetuity. But here government made a stand; and this, as well as a motion made to obtain a modification of Poyning's law, was rejected by a large majority.

The failure of these efforts of the minority in parliament appears to have given occasion to the first meeting of the volunteers, on the subject of parliamentary reform. On the 28th of December, 1781, the officers of one of the Ulster regiments came to an unanimous resolution, "That to restore the constitution to its original purity, the most vigorous and effectual methods should be pursued to root corruption and court influence out of the legislative body:" And with this view, a meeting of delegates from the several regiments of the province was convened at Dungannon, on the 15th of February following.

On that day, the representatives of 143 corps of volunteer troops assembled. Their resolutions, which were adopted in substance by all the volunteers of the southern provinces, were confined for the most part to the assertion of the political independence of the kingdom. This primary object being soon after established, by solemn acts of the legislature of both nations, the ardour for parliamentary reformations appeared for a while to have almost entirely subsided.

The existence and increase of the volunteer army, after the necessity which first gave rise to it had been superseded by the establishment of peace, and after the great constitutional objects to which it had secondarily directed its views were fully attained, called for the most serious attention of government. Accordingly, soon after the transactions we have just related, an attempt was made to induce them to disband, by raising under the authority of government a kind of national militia, by the name of *Fencible Regiments*.—It is probable that this design, though too glaring to be concealed, and accordingly almost universally condemned and opposed by the volunteers, would in time have produced its effect, if some new object had not been found upon which the united efforts of that body might again be exerted. The reform of parliamentary representation furnished this centre of union, and the discussion of it was again resumed with great zeal and solemnity. Delegates were assembled from the several corps of the several provinces; committees of correspondence were appointed; and letters were despatched to the most celebrated political speculators, or parliamentary reformers in Great Britain, for their advice on so great and momentous an occasion.

On the eighth day of September, 1783, a general meeting of delegates from the province of Ulster was held at Dungannon. A plan of reformation was here proposed and agreed upon; and it was resolved, that a grand national convention of representatives from the whole volunteer army should assemble at Dublin on the 10th day of November following. In these measures the volunteer
corps

corps of the other three provinces almost unanimously concurred.

The convention in Dublin was both full and respectable, and the measures were at least commendable for their moderation. On the subject of parliamentary reform, it was proposed to extend the right of voting in all cities and boroughs to every protestant inhabitant possessed of a freehold or leasehold, for 31 years or upwards, of the value of forty shillings a year; that in decayed boroughs, where the number of voters should be less than two hundred in the province of Ulster, one hundred in Munster and Connaught, and seventy in the province of Leinster, the neighbouring parishes should be admitted to a right of voting; and lastly, that the duration of parliaments should be limited to three years.

Mr. Flood undertook to bring forward the discussion of these topics in the house of commons; and accordingly, the day following, he moved for leave to bring in a bill “for the more equal representation of the people in parliament.” The motion was received by a great majority of the house with the strongest marks of disapprobation. Without entering into the consideration of the wisdom or folly of the plan proposed, it was urged that the house could not possibly, without betraying its trust, and abdicating its authority, consent to receive propositions tendered to them at the point of the bayonet, by a body of armed men. That however respectable they might be in other points of view, yet to suffer them to beset the house of parliament, and to dictate to the legislature with arms in their hands, would be to establish a precedent subversive of the very existence of all order and government.

The motion being rejected by a majority of 157 to 77, the house came to a resolution, which was moved by Mr. Yelverton, the attorney general, “That it was now necessary to declare, that the house would support the rights and privileges of parliament against all encroachments.” An address was also ordered to be presented to the king, on the motion of Mr. Conolly, “to express the happiness they enjoyed under the established government, and to assure him

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him of their determination to support the present constitution with their lives and fortunes." The address being sent up to the house of lords, received their concurrence.

On the report of these measures to the convention by Mr. Flood, it was agreed, that a counter address should be presented to the king, in the name of the delegates of all the voluntiers of Ireland, "to implore his majesty, that their humble wish to have certain manifest perversions in the parliamentary representation in that kingdom remedied, might not be imputed to any spirit of innovation, but to a sober and laudable desire to uphold the constitution, to confirm the satisfaction of their fellow-subjects, and perpetuate the cordial union of the two nations."

The change which soon afterwards took place in the administration of both kingdoms, gave fresh spirits to the friends of reformation. It was not unreasonably expected that the weight of government would now be thrown into their scale, as the first minister in England, and the first minister in Ireland, had been among the most eager and loud in support of the same measures in Great Britain. But notwithstanding these flattering appearances, they were doomed to experience a second disappointment.

On the 13th of March 1784, Mr. Flood again moved for leave to bring in his bill. As the motion was supported by a great number of petitions, and all occasion of offence was avoided, by keeping the voluntiers out of view, the bill was allowed to be brought in; but, on the second reading, it was rejected by nearly the same majority as before.

These repeated defeats did not abate the ardour of the Irish reformers in the pursuit of their favourite object; but as all hope of obtaining the deliberate co-operation of parliament was at an end, they turned their applications to a quarter from whence experience had already taught them to look for more effectual exertions. As government had not yet ventured to question the legality of the voluntier associations, the people at large were called upon to provide themselves with arms, and to array themselves
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under that description. Several unpopular acts of the new government, in some of which parliament was also involved by the share it had in them, served greatly to increase the general discontent of the nation.

On the 7th day of June, a meeting was held of the aggregate body of the citizens of Dublin. It was here resolved to present another petition to the king, and in the mean time to endeavour, by a circular address, to stimulate the body of the people to a general and vigorous exertion.

This petition, after enumerating their several grievances, and lamenting that his majesty's administration should have taken an active part in all the measures of which they complained, states, "That this was a circumstance the more extraordinary, as the first minister of England had virtuously declared himself in favour of the principal measure which had been rejected; that his majesty had lately thought it necessary to appeal to the electors of Great Britain against the powers of an aristocracy; that on that occasion but one fourth of the people of England exclaimed against their house of commons, and the sovereign prudently dissolved a parliament which had lost the confidence of a quarter of the nation, and declared his readiness to adopt whatever he should collect to be the sense of his people; and that they therefore looked up to him with the utmost confidence for immediate dissolution of the parliament of Ireland, in compliance with the almost unanimous request of his loyal subjects of that kingdom."

In the address, the complicated hardships they had suffered from the abuse of power were detailed with great warmth and freedom; the continuance of these sufferings they attributed to defects of their representation in parliament; and they appeal to experience for the inefficacy of every means they had employed to obtain redress. They therefore call upon and conjure their fellow-subjects to unite with them in the pursuit of some more efficacious plan for the removal of the general calamity; and with this view they propose that five persons should be elected
from

from each county, city, and considerable town, to meet in Dublin in national congress.

But the most remarkable feature in this address was, a proposition to admit the Roman catholic subjects of that kingdom to a participation of the rights of suffrage at the election of members of parliament. Though this measure was not only consonant to the general principles of the reform they meditated, but promised no small accession of strength to the common cause, yet the sincerity of the Irish protestants on this point, farther than as it served the present turn, has been much doubted.

When the business of equal representation began to be agitated, the case of the Roman catholics was again brought forward, and the delegates of the meeting at Dungannon, in the year 1783, were instructed to consider of the best plan of admitting them to an equal participation in the benefits of the projected reformation. At the subsequent meeting of the convention in Dublin, when that subject was proposed for their consideration, a pretended letter was produced from the earl of Kildare, purporting to convey the general sentiments of the Roman catholics of Ireland, in which they were made to express their perfect satisfaction with what had been already done for them, and that they desired no more than peaceably to enjoy the privileges they had obtained. But though this letter was publicly disavowed, both by the respectable person from whom it was said to have come, and by a general assembly of the committee of the Irish catholics, who acknowledged themselves to have too great a resemblance to the rest of their species to be desirous of opposing any thing that tended to their relief, and that they should receive any indulgence the legislature should be willing to grant them, yet, in the plan of reform digested at this meeting, they were left precisely in the same situation as before.

But to return to the proceedings of the citizens of Dublin. An application was made to the lord lieutenant to convey their petition to the throne. In answer to their request, he informed them, that though it was his duty

to convey the papers they presented, yet he found himself obliged to accompany them with his entire disapprobation; as they contained unjust and indecent reflections upon the laws and the parliament of Ireland, and as they tended to foment fatal dissensions among the people.

The credulity of the Irish reformers was proof against all disapprobation. They could not be persuaded, but that the English minister would heartily concur in the support of measures founded on principles which he had himself so often and so ostentatiously avowed. Accordingly, on the 8th of July, a petition to the king was conveyed to Mr. Pitt, by the inhabitants of Belfast, nearly of the same tenour with that of the citizens of Dublin. In the month of September, Mr. Pitt informed them, in his answer, "That he had undoubtedly been, and still continued, a zealous friend to a reform in parliament, but that he must beg leave to say that he had been so on grounds very different from those adopted in their petition: That what was there proposed, he considered as tending to produce still greater evils than any of those which the friends of reform were desirous to remedy."

But the cause of reform received about this time a more fatal blow, from the disunion which broke out amongst the volunteers themselves, on the subject of admitting the Roman catholics to the rights of election. In an address, presented by the Ulster corps to their general the earl of Charlemont, after some strong expressions of their detestation of aristocratic tyranny, they hinted at the necessity of calling in the aid of the catholics, as the most just as well as effectual means of opposing it with success. In answer to this address, the earl of Charlemont lamented that, for the first time, he felt himself obliged to differ from them in sentiment. He was free from every illiberal prejudice against the catholics, and full of good will towards that very respectable body; but he could not refrain from the most ardent intreaties that they would desist from a pursuit that would fatally clog and impede the prosecution of their favourite purpose.

As this nobleman was very highly and very deservedly respected by the whole nation, his opinion was eagerly

embraced, both by the timid, whose apprehensions were alarmed by the boldness and extent of the project, and by a great number whose prejudices against the catholics appear rather to have been dissembled than cured. In the month of October, the thanks of the corporation of the city of Dublin was voted him, for his conduct on this occasion.

The meeting of a national congress was a measure of too alarming a nature not to attract the most serious attention of government; and it appears to have been their resolution to take the most vigorous steps for preventing it if possible. A few days previous to that which was fixed for the election of delegates for the city of Dublin, the attorney-general addressed a letter to the sheriffs, expressing his very great surprise at having read a summons, signed by them, calling a meeting for the purpose in question. He observed, that, by this proceeding, they had been guilty of a most outrageous breach of their duty; and that, if they proceeded, they would be responsible to the laws of their country, and he should hold himself bound to prosecute them in the court of King's Bench, for a conduct which he considered so highly criminal, that he could not overlook it. These threats succeeded so far as to intimidate the sheriffs from attending the meeting in their official capacity; but the meeting was nevertheless held, delegates were chosen, and, in revenge for the attorney's letter, several strong resolutions were agreed to, relative to the right of assembling themselves for the redress of grievances.

But government, having once set their faces against the election and assembling of delegates, pursued a mode of conduct that had sufficient of resolution in it at least. From denouncing threats, they proceeded to actual punishments.

Henry Stephens Reiley, esq. high sheriff for the county of Dublin, in consequence of his having called together and presided at an assembly of freeholders, who met on the 19th of August 1784, for the purpose of choosing and instructing their delegates, was the first object of ministerial prosecution on this occasion. The attorney-general

ral proceeded against him by attachment from the court of King's Bench. The assembly, and the resolutions they came to on this occasion, signed by Mr. Reiley, in his character as sheriff for the county, were both declared to be illegal, and Mr. Reiley was sentenced by the court to pay a fine of five marks (3l. 6s. 8d.), and to be imprisoned one week.

This mode of legal process, except for the purpose of bringing persons before the court, to receive the sentence of such court for the contempt of and disobedience to its orders and directions, has so seldom been resorted to, that even the legality of the process itself, on any other ground than the one abovementioned, has remained a matter of general doubt and uncertainty.

In the present case, it met with much less opposition than might have been expected. Clamours without doors, and debates within, on the subject, there certainly were; but both too feeble and ill-concerted to promise any success.

It is probable, too, that the apprehensions that many persons began to form of the delegates themselves, whom they looked upon in some measure as a new order rising up in the state, might induce them to acquiesce in, if not to approve of, an extraordinary and unusual mode of proceeding on this occasion.

But government did not confine their prosecutions to Mr. Reiley.—Having once adopted a mode of proceeding which so effectually answered the end for which they designed it, informations were moved for, and attachments granted, against the different magistrates who called the meetings, and signed the respective resolutions of the freeholders in the counties of Roscommon and Leitrim. At the same time, the press too came under the lash of the attorney-general; and the printers and publishers of such newspapers as had inserted the obnoxious resolutions, suffered with the magistrates who had signed them.

Notwithstanding these violent measures which administration were pursuing, the national congress met, pursuant to its appointment, on the 25th day of October. But as it was far from being complete in point of num-

ber, and as several of its most respectable members chose to absent themselves, they adjourned, after having passed a number of resolutions to the same purport with those which had been agreed to at the previous meeting; and exhorted, in the most earnest manner, the communities which had not sent representatives, if they respected their own consistency, if they wished for the success of a parliamentary reform, and as they tendered the perpetual liberty and prosperity of their country, not to less pass this opportunity of effecting the great and necessary confirmation of the constitution.

At their second meeting, which was held on the 2d of January 1785, the representatives of twenty-seven counties, and of most of the cities and considerable towns of the kingdom, amounting in the whole to upwards of two hundred persons, assembled. Their proceedings appear to have been of the same nature as those they had before adopted, with only this difference, that in the proposed application to the house of commons, it was agreed to confine themselves to the most general terms, and to leave the mode of redress as free and open as possible to the consideration of parliament. After several adjournments, they held their final meeting on the 20th of April; and on the 12th of May, the bill which Mr. Flood had again brought in, in pursuance of their common object, was again rejected.

During the course of the proceedings relative to parliamentary and constitutional reformation, interests of a more pressing and important nature frequently divided the attention of the people, and were pursued with a more intemperate degree of zeal and violence. It should seem as if the manufacturers of Ireland had conceived an opinion, that the restitution of commercial freedom would operate like a charm, and diffuse in an instant that general prosperity over the nation, which could only be the effect of a long course of frugal, attentive, and persevering industry. The fallacy of these sanguine expectations was soon apparent; and the evil, if not partly caused, was greatly aggravated by the idleness of the lowest class of people, and that neglect of their proper occupations of the better sort,

fort, which was the consequence of the general disposition to political speculations.

Towards the end of the year 1783, the distresses of the manufacturers of Dublin had arisen to such a height, as for a short time to supersede all laws, and to reduce the city to a state of anarchy and confusion. As a temporary remedy to this mischief, subscriptions were set on foot for their relief, which were very liberally supported; and in the mean time a committee was appointed by the house of commons to take into consideration the state of the manufactures of the kingdom. Mr. Gardener, who took the lead in that business, passed over into England, in order to consult with the king's ministers on the alarming exigence of affairs; but, as should appear from the event, without being able to agree with them on the adoption of any specific measures.

On the 31st of March 1784, the house took into consideration the report of the committee; on which occasion Mr. Gardener brought forward a plan, for which the people had for some time been extremely clamorous, namely, that of protecting duties---of protecting their own manufactures, and enforcing the consumption of them at home, by laying heavy duties on similar manufactures imported from other countries.

After stating the nature and extent of the distresses under which the manufacturers laboured, Mr. Gardener adverted to the several modes which had been proposed of affording them relief. The first was to force the home consumption by non-importation agreements.---This was a measure which, he said, was not very likely to receive the sanction of the legislature, nor did he think it advisable in itself; the expedient had been fully tried, as far as voluntary compacts could carry it, and had been attended with the most pernicious instead of beneficial effects: Not to mention the outrageous excesses into which the people had been led in the enforcing these agreements, it still left it in the power of the interested and avaricious to draw additional profits from the distresses of the country. The home manufactures were not only vended at the most extravagant price, but all

incitement to emulation being removed, they had declined in their quality to the lowest extreme.---The second was, to encourage by bounties the export trade. But this, he thought, was beginning at the wrong end: Foreign trade could only be secured by the excellence of the manufactures; and that, he contended, could only be obtained in the gradual progress of a home consumption. There then remained no other measure than that he now proposed, by which a preference only would be given to the native manufacture; a preference which, he believed, in all other commercial countries, was uniformly secured. He therefore concluded with moving, "That a duty of two shillings and six-pence per yard be laid on all drapery imported into that kingdom." At the same time he declared his intention of moving for proportionate duties on paper, manufactured iron, and a variety of other articles.

In answer to these arguments, it was urged, that the protecting duty, if made effectual, would necessarily produce all the consequences of non-importation.---But what was chiefly insisted on was, that it could not be expected Great Britain would not retaliate, and that they might thereby run the risk of losing the linen trade, the value of which was a million and a half, for the uncertain prospect of increasing the woollen, which did not exceed 50,000*l*. The question being at length put on Mr. Gardener's motion, it was rejected by a majority of 110 to 36.

The rejection of Mr. Gardener's propositions caused a violent fermentation amongst the people. On the Monday following an outrageous mob broke into the house of commons at the time of its sitting, reproached the members with having sold themselves to Great Britain, and called on them at least to distribute amongst the starving manufacturers some share of the hire of their iniquity. The guards being sent for, put an end to the riot without any bloodshed, and two of the ring-leaders were apprehended and committed to Newgate.

As there was great reason to believe that the people were greatly incited to these violent excesses by the seditions

tious and inflammatory libels which were daily circulated in the public papers, prosecutions were commenced against several of the printers; and on the 7th of April a bill was brought in by Mr. Forster, "for securing the liberty of the press, by preventing the publication of libels." By this bill it was enacted, "That the real printer and proprietor of every newspaper should make an affidavit of his name and place of residence, and that the same should be lodged in the stamp-office, to be produced as sufficient evidence in cases of prosecution for libels:---That they should further enter each into a recognizance of 500*l.* to answer all civil suits that should be instituted against them in such characters:---That they should take no money for putting in or having in any slanderous articles, under a severe penalty: and lastly, that the hawker of any unstamped inflammatory or libellous paper should be compelled to prove from whom he received it, and should be subjected to imprisonment *ipso facto* by warrant of any justice of the peace."

This bill was strenuously opposed in both houses of parliament, and several petitions were presented against it. At length a sort of compromise took place. The most obnoxious clauses, those relative to the recognizance, and the imprisonment of hawkers, were withdrawn; and the bill, thus modified, passed with a pretty general concurrence.

Notwithstanding the vigorous conduct of the Irish government, the city of Dublin continued, during the whole course of the summer, 1785, to be a scene of tumult and disorder. No sooner was parliament risen, than the expedient of non-importation agreements was again resorted to with greater zeal than ever.---These engagements spread themselves into every quarter of the kingdom.---They received the sanction of several grand juries, and the merchants of the trading ports found themselves compelled to subscribe to them. The enforcing of these prohibitory compacts naturally devolved upon the lowest class of the people, and they proceeded in the execution of this trust, according to the most approved

proved modes of popular discipline.---To keep these excesses within some bounds, the military were posted in such parts of the city as were the most subject to tumult, sentinels were placed to prevent or to give notice of the first appearance of riot, and the garrison was kept in constant readiness for action.

This untemperish disposition in government drew on the lord lieutenant, whose manners were in other respects peculiarly adapted to acquire the favour of that nation, an unusual share of popular odium, the effects of which he had frequently the mortification of experiencing.---In one instance the public theatre was chosen to be the scene of manifesting this ill-humour. He was received, on his arrival in the house, by the performance of a piece of music called the Volunteers March. A general uproar ensued; the entertainments of the evening were stopped; and it was said that he narrowly escaped undergoing one of those operations which are usually inflicted by the mob on persons who have the misfortune to fall under their displeasure.

Previous to the meeting of the Irish parliament in January 1785, the British cabinet, in concert with commissioners appointed on the part of Ireland, had formed a plan for regulating and finally adjusting the commercial intercourse between the two kingdoms.

On the 7th of February, Mr. Orde, the secretary to the lord lieutenant, announced this system to the house of commons; and on the 11th a set of resolutions, which he had before laid on their table, were moved and agreed to by the House, without much discussion, and without any material alterations. The concurrence of the house of peers being soon after obtained, the following resolutions were immediately transmitted to England, as the proposed basis, on the part of that country, for an equitable and final adjustment:

Resolved 1. "That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is highly important to the interest of the British empire, that the trade between Great Britain and Ireland be extended as much as possible, and for that purpose that the intercourse and commerce be finally settled and regulated

regulated on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries.

2. “ That towards carrying into full effect so desirable a settlement, it is fit and proper that all articles, not the growth of Great Britain and Ireland, should be imported into each kingdom from the other, under the same regulations, and at the same duties, if subject to duties, to which they are liable when imported directly from the place of their growth, product, or manufacture; and that all duties, originally paid on importation to either country respectively, shall be drawn back on exportation to the other.

3. “ That for the same purpose, that it is proper that no prohibition should exist in either country against the importation, use, or sale of any article, the growth, product, or manufacture of the other; and that the duty on the importation of every such article, if subject to duty in either country, should be precisely the same in one country as in the other, except where an addition may be necessary in either country, in consequence of an internal duty on any such article of its own consumption.

4. “ That in all cases where the duties on articles of the growth, product, or manufacture of either country, are different on the importation into the other, it would be expedient that they should be reduced, in the kingdom where they are the highest, to the amount payable in the other, and that all such articles should be exportable from the kingdom into which they shall be imported, as free from duty as the similar commodities or home manufactures of the same kingdom.

5. “ That for the same purpose, it is also proper, that in all cases where either kingdom shall charge articles of its own consumption with an internal duty on the manufacture, or a duty on the material, the same manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a farther duty on importation, to the same amount as the internal duty on the manufacture, or to an amount adequate to countervail the duty on the material, and shall

shall be entitled to such drawbacks of bounties on exportation, as may leave the same subject to no heavier burden than the home made manufacture; such farther duty to continue so long only as the internal consumption shall be charged with the duty or duties to balance which it shall be imposed, or until the manufacture coming from the other kingdom shall be subjected there to an equal burden, not drawn back or compensated on exportation.

6. “That in order to give permanency to the settlements now intended to be established, it is necessary that no prohibition, or new or additional duties, should be hereafter imposed in either kingdom, on the importation of any article of the growth, product, or manufacture of the other, except such additional duties as may be requisite to balance duties on internal consumption, pursuant to the foregoing resolution.

7. “That for the same purpose it is necessary farther that no prohibitions, or new additional duties, should be hereafter imposed on either kingdoms on the exportation of any article of native growth, product, or manufacture, from thence to the other, except such as either kingdom may deem expedient from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuit; and also, except where there now exists any prohibition which is not reciprocal, or any duty which is not equal in both kingdoms; in every which case the prohibition may be made reciprocal, or the duties raised so as to make them equal.

8. “That for the same purpose it is necessary that no bounties whatsoever should be paid or payable in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article to the other, except such as relate to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits, and such as are in the nature of drawbacks or compensations for duties paid; and that no bounties should be granted in this kingdom, on the exportation of any article imported from the British plantations, or any manufacture made of such article, unless in cases where a similar bounty is payable in Britain on exportation

tion from thence, or where such bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback, or compensation of or for duties paid over and above any duties paid thereon in Britain.

9. "That it is expedient for the general benefit of the British empire, that the importation of articles from foreign states should be regulated from time to time, in each kingdom, on such terms as may afford an effectual preference to the importation of similar articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other.

10. "That for the better protection of trade, whatever sum the gross hereditary revenue of this kingdom (after deducting all drawbacks, repayments, or bounties granted in the nature of drawbacks) shall produce annually, over and above the sum of £. should be appropriated towards the support of the naval force of the empire, in such manner as the parliament of this kingdom shall direct."

Almost immediately after their arrival, the business was opened before a committee of the house of commons by Mr. Pitt, who concluded a speech of considerable length with moving the following general resolution: "That it was highly important to the general interests of the empire, that the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland should be finally adjusted, and that Ireland should be permitted to a permanent and irrevocable participation of the commercial advantages of this country, when her parliament should permanently and irrevocably secure an aid out of the surplus of the hereditary revenue of that kingdom, towards defraying the expense of protecting the general commerce of the empire in time of peace."

Mr. Pitt, after taking a review of what had already been granted to Ireland by the British parliament, observed, That the concessions now proposed to be made to that kingdom, in order to put the two countries on a fair and equal footing, he should reduce to two heads:

First, The importation of the produce of our colonies in the West Indies and America through Ireland into Great Britain.

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Second,

Second, A mutual exchange between the two countries of their respective productions and manufactures, upon equal terms.

With regard to the first, he allowed it had the appearance of militating against the navigation laws, for which England had ever had the greatest partiality. But as she had already allowed Ireland to trade immediately and directly with the colonies, he could not see how the importing of the produce of those colonies circuitously through Ireland into Great Britain could injure the colonial trade of this country, which was a direct one, and therefore to be made at a less expence and risque, than that which was circuitous.

In return for these concessions on the part of Great Britain, he proposed that Ireland should agree to the payment of a certain stipulated sum yearly out of the surplus of her hereditary revenue, towards defraying the general expenses of the empire.

Such was the general outline of the proposed system, on its first appearance. In the outset, both those within and those without doors seemed to comprehend but little, and to be still less concerned about an object of such extent and importance. A fortnight elapsed before the subject again made its appearance; during which interim, a report prepared by a committee of the board of trade and plantations, was laid by the minister upon the table of the house of commons, to assist its deliberations. This report was stated to be founded upon the declarations and opinions of some of the principal manufacturers and merchants in the kingdom, who had been examined by the abovementioned committee; and its particular object was to prove the expediency of that part of the system which related to reducing the duties payable upon the importation of Irish produce and manufactures into Great Britain, to what the same sort of articles were charged with in this country.

In the mean time the merchants and manufacturers who had been examined before the committee, joined by great numbers of others from every part of the nation,

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met together for the purpose of taking the Irish propositions into their consideration.—During the course of their proceedings it appeared, that the opinions of the former were in direct contradiction to the inferences which had been drawn from their examination in the report laid before parliament. Whether this was occasioned by any change which, upon a fuller consideration, had taken place in the minds of the merchants and manufacturers themselves, or whether the committee of the board of trade and plantations had strained and perverted their declarations, it is not easy to determine. However, the consequence was, that it threw a considerable degree of discredit upon the report itself, and seemed to point out the necessity there was for the house of commons to examine the different commercial and manufacturing bodies concerned, at their own bar. This mode of proceeding gave the first check to the system in its progress through the house; whilst without doors it became more unpopular, in proportion as it became more thoroughly investigated.

During the months of March and April, and until the middle of May, the house was occupied in receiving the petitions and hearing the evidence of manufacturers and merchants of every description.

This laborious and minute mode of investigation being gone through, the propositions were again brought forward by Mr. Pitt, on the 12th of May, but with a variety of amendments, variations, and additions.—To the original set of propositions, ten new ones were added, some of them only supplemental to, and explanatory of the former, but several containing much new and important matter; we shall therefore lay them as they now stood, at large before our readers.

1. “That it is highly important to the interests of both countries, that the commerce between Great Britain and Ireland should be finally regulated on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries.

2. “That a full participation of commercial advantages should be permanently secured to Ireland, when-

ever a provision, equally permanent and secure, shall be made by the parliament of that kingdom towards defraying, in proportion to its growing prosperity, the necessary expenies in time of peace, of protecting the trade and general interests of the empire.

3. “ That towards carrying into full effect so desirable a settlement, it is fit and proper that all articles, not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or ‘ Ireland, except those of the growth, produce, or manufacture, of any of the countries beyond the cape of Good Hope, to the streights of Magellan,’ should be imported into each kingdom from the other reciprocally, under the same regulations, and at the same duties (if subject to duties) to which they ‘ would be’ liable when imported directly from the ‘ country or place from whence the same may have been imported into Great Britain or Ireland respectively, as the case may be;’ and that all duties originally paid on importation into either country respectively, except on arrack and foreign brandy, and on rum, and all sorts of strong waters not imported from the British colonies in the West Indies, shall be fully drawn back on exportation to the other. ‘ But, nevertheless, that the duties shall continue to be protected and guarded, as at present, by withholding the drawback, until a certificate from the proper officers of the revenue, in the kingdom to which the export may be made, shall be returned and compared with the entry outwards.’

4. “ That it is highly important to the general interests of the British empire, that the laws for regulating trade and navigation should be the same in Great Britain and Ireland; and, therefore, that it is essential, towards carrying into effect the present settlement, that all laws which have been made, or shall be made in Great Britain, for securing exclusive privileges to the ships and mariners of of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British colonies and plantations, and for regulating and restraining the trade of the British colonies and plantations, ‘ such laws imposing the same restraints, and conferring the same benefits on the subjects of both kingdoms, should’ be in force in Ireland,

Ireland, ' by laws to be passed by the parliament of that kingdom for the same time, and' in the same manner as in Great Britain.

5. " That it is farther essential to this settlement, that all goods and commodities of the growth, produce, or manufacture of British or foreign colonies in America, or the West Indies; and the British or foreign settlements on the coast of Africa, imported into Ireland, should, on importation, be subject to the same duties ' and regulations' as the like goods are, or from time to time shall be subject to, upon importation into Great Britain; ' or if prohibited from being imported into Great Britain, shall in like manner be prohibited from being imported into Ireland.'

6. " That in order to prevent illicit practices, injurious to the revenue and commerce of both kingdoms, it is expedient that all goods, whether of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, or of any foreign country, which shall hereafter be imported into Great Britain from Ireland, or into Ireland from Great Britain, should be put, by laws to be passed in the parliament of the two kingdoms, under the same regulations with respect to bonds, cockets, and other instruments, to which the like goods are now subject in passing from one port of Great Britain to another.

7. " That for the like purpose, it is also expedient that when any goods, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the British West India islands, ' or any other of the British colonies or plantations,' shall be shipped from Ireland for Great Britain, they should be accompanied with such original certificates of the revenue officers of the said colonies as shall be required by the law on importation into Great Britain; and that when the whole quantity included in one certificate shall not be shipped at any one time, the original certificate, properly indorsed as to quantity, should be sent with the first parcel; and to identify the remainder, if shipped at any future period, new certificates should be granted by the principal officers of the ports in Ireland, extracted from a register of the original documents, specifying the quantities

tities before shipped from thence, by what vessels, and to what ports.

8. "That it is essential for carrying into effect the present settlement, that all goods exported from Ireland to the British colonies in the West Indies, or in America, 'or to the British settlements on the coast of Africa,' should from time to time be made liable to such duties and drawbacks, and put under such regulations as may be necessary, in order that the same may not be exported with less incumbrance of duties or imposition than the like goods shall be burdened with when exported from Great Britain.

9. "That it is essential to the general commercial interests of the empire, that, so long as the parliament of this kingdom shall think it advisable that the commerce to the countries beyond the cape of Good Hope shall be carried on solely by an exclusive company, having liberty to import into the port of London only, no goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any countries beyond the cape of Good Hope should be importable into Ireland from any foreign country, or from any settlement in the East Indies belonging to any such foreign country; and that no goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the said countries should be allowed to be imported into Ireland but through Great Britain; and it shall be lawful to export such goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any of the countries beyond the cape of Good Hope to the streights of Magellan from Great Britain to Ireland, with the same duties retained thereon as are now retained on their being exported to that kingdom; but that an account shall be kept of the duties retained, and the net drawback on the said goods imported to Ireland; and that the amount thereof shall be remitted by the receiver-general of his majesty's customs in Great Britain to the proper officer of the revenue in Ireland, to be placed to the account of his majesty's revenue there, subject to the disposal of the parliament of that kingdom; and that whenever the commerce to the said countries shall cease to be carried on by an exclusive company in the goods of the produce of countries beyond the cape of
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Good Hope to the freights of Magellan, the goods should be importable into Ireland from countries from which they may be importable to Great Britain, and no other; and that no vessel should be cleared out from Ireland for any part of the countries from the cape of Good Hope to the freights of Magellan, but such as shall be freighted in Ireland by the said exclusive company, and shall have sailed from the port of London; and that the ships going from Great Britain to any of the said countries beyond the cape of Good Hope should not be restrained from touching at any of the ports in Ireland, and taking on board there any of the goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of that kingdom.'

10. "That no prohibition should exist, in either country, against the importation, use, or sale of any article, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other; except such as either kingdom may judge expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits; and except such qualified prohibitions, at present contained in any act of the British or Irish parliament, as do not absolutely prevent the importation of goods or manufactures, or materials of manufactures, but only regulate the weight, the size, the packages, or other particular circumstances, or prescribe the built or country, and dimensions of the ships importing the same; and also, except on ammunition, arms, gunpowder, and other utensils of war, importable only by virtue of his majesty's licence:" and that the duty on the importation of every such article (if subject to duty in either country) should be precisely the same in the one country as in the other, except where an addition may be necessary in either country, in consequence of an internal duty on any such article of its own consumption, or in consequence of internal bounties in the country where such article is grown, produced, or manufactured, and except such duties as either kingdom may judge expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits.'

11. "That in all cases where the duties on articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, are different on the importation into the other, it is ex-

pedient that they should be reduced, in the kingdom where they are the highest, to 'an amount not exceeding' the amount payable in the other; 'so that the same shall not be less than ten and a half per cent. where any article was charged with the duty, on importation into Ireland, of ten and a half per cent. or upwards, previous to the 17th day of May 1782;' and that all such articles should be exportable, from the kingdom into which they shall be imported, as free from duty as the similar commodities or home manufactures of the same kingdom.

12. "That it is also proper, that in all cases where the articles of the consumption of either kingdom shall be charged with an internal duty on the manufacture, the said manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a farther duty on importation, adequate to countervail the internal duty on the manufacture 'as far as relates to the duties now charged thereon;' such farther duty to continue so long only as the internal consumption shall be charged with the duty or duties to balance which it shall be imposed; and that where there is a duty on the importation of the raw material of any manufacture in one kingdom, greater than the like duty on raw materials in the other, such manufacture may, on its importation 'into the other kingdom, be charged with such a countervailing duty as may be sufficient to subject the same, so imported, to 'burdens adequate to those which' the manufacture composed of the like raw material is subject to, in consequence of duties on the importation of such material in the kingdom into which such manufacture is so imported; and the said manufacture so imported, shall be entitled to such drawbacks or bounties on exportation, as may leave the same subject to no heavier burden than the home-made manufacture.

13. "That, in order to give permanency to the settlement now intended to be established, it is necessary that no new or additional duties should be hereafter imposed, in either kingdom, on the importation of any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other; except such additional duties as may be requisite to balance
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lance the duties on internal consumption, pursuant to the foregoing resolution, 'or in consequence of bounties remaining on such articles when exported from the other kingdom.'

14. "That for the same purpose, it is necessary, farther, that no prohibition, or new or additional duties, shall be hereafter imposed in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article of native growth, produce, or manufacture, from 'the one kingdom' to the other, except such as either kingdom may deem expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits.

15. "That for the same purpose, it is necessary that no bounties whatsoever should be paid or payable in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article to the other, except such as relate to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits, 'and except also the bounties at present given by Great Britain on' beer, and spirits distilled from corn; and such as are in the nature of drawbacks or compensations for duties paid; and that no bounty should be 'payable' on the exportation of any article to any British colonies or plantations, 'or to the British settlements on the coast of Africa,' or on the exportation of any article imported from the British plantations, 'or from the British settlements on the coast of Africa, or British settlements in the East Indies;' or any manufacture made of such article, unless in cases where a similar bounty is payable in Great Britain, on exportation from thence, or where such bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback or compensation of or for duties paid, over and above any duties paid thereon in Britain; and where 'any internal bounty shall be given in either kingdom, on any goods manufactured therein, and shall remain on such goods, when exported, a countervailing duty adequate thereto may be laid upon the importation of the said goods into the other kingdom.'

16. "That it is expedient for the general benefit of the British empire, that the importation of articles from foreign 'countries' should be regulated from time to time in each kingdom on such terms as may 'effectually favour'

vour' the importation of similar articles of the growth, product, or manufacture of the other; 'except in the case of materials of manufactures, which are, or hereafter may be allowed to be imported from foreign countries, duty-free; and that in all cases where any articles are or may be subject to higher duties on importation into this kingdom, from the countries belonging to any of the states of North America, than the like goods are or may be subject to when imported, as the growth, produce, or manufacture of the British colonies and plantations, or as the produce of the fisheries carried on by British subjects, such articles shall be subject to the same duties on importation into Ireland, from the countries belonging to any of the states of North America, as the same are or may be subject to on importation from the said countries into this kingdom.'

17. "That it is expedient that measures should be taken to prevent disputes touching the exercise of the right of the inhabitants of each kingdom to fish on the coast of any part of the British dominions.'

18. "That it is expedient that, 'such privileges of printing and vending books as are or may be legally possessed within Great Britain, under the grant of the crown or otherwise, and' the copy-rights of the authors and booksellers of Great Britain, should continue to be protected in the manner they are at present, by the laws of Great Britain; and that it is just that measures should be taken by the parliament of Ireland for giving the like protection to the copy-rights of the authors and booksellers of that kingdom.

19. "That it is expedient that regulations should be adopted with respect to patents to be hereafter granted for the encouragement of new inventions, so that the rights, privileges, and restrictions thereon granted and contained, shall be of equal duration and force throughout Great Britain and Ireland.'

20. "That the appropriation of whatever sum the gross hereditary revenue of the kingdom of Ireland (the due collection thereof being secured by permanent provisions)

visions) shall produce, after deducting all drawbacks, repayments, or bounties granted in the nature of drawbacks, over and above the sum of six hundred and fifty-six thousand pounds in each year, towards the support of the naval force of the empire, to be applied in such manner as the parliament of Ireland shall direct by an act to be passed for that purpose, will be a satisfactory provision, proportioned to the growing prosperity of that kingdom, towards defraying, in time of peace, the necessary expenses of protecting the trade and general interests of the empire."

The chief objects of the additional propositions were to provide, 1st, That whatever navigation laws the British parliament should hereafter find it necessary to enact for the preservation of her marine, the same should be passed by the legislature of Ireland. 2dly, Against the importing into Ireland, and from thence into Great Britain, of any other West India merchandises than such as were the produce of our own colonies;—and 3dly, That Ireland should debar itself from trading to any of the countries beyond the cape of Good Hope to the streights of Magellan, so long as it should be thought necessary to continue the charter of the English East India company.

In the course of the debates upon the propositions as they stood with these amendments and additions, that which met with the most vigorous opposition (independent of such general reasoning as went against the system altogether) was the fourth, in which Great Britain, it was asserted, assumed both a present and future power to bind Ireland by such acts as she should pass relative to the trade and commerce of both kingdoms. This was stated to be directly in the teeth of what had been solemnly stipulated betwixt the two kingdoms, namely, that Ireland was in future only to be bound by her own statutes—That it was a resumption of the right of legislating for Ireland, which this country had renounced—That it was bartering the liberties of Ireland for the advantages held out to that kingdom by the system now proposed, and there-
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by purchasing Irish slavery at the expense of English commerce.

With respect to the last proposition, which stipulated, that whenever there should be a surplus of the revenue of Ireland, over and above the sum of 656,000*l.* such surplus should be applied to the support of the British navy, it was urged, that if this was held forth as a compensation for advantages voluntarily resigned by Great Britain, nothing could be more fallacious, the present net revenue of that kingdom being little more than 333,000*l.* and therefore little more than half the stipulated sum, over and above which the surplus only was to be applied in aid of the public revenue of this country.

The arguments which were offered generally, and against the whole of the proposed system, went chiefly upon the supposed injury, which the *manufactures* and *commerce* of Great Britain would sustain from it: The former, from the comparative small price of labour in Ireland, which alone, it was contended, would soon enable that kingdom to undersell us both at home and abroad; the latter, from the facility with which it was well known the revenue laws in Ireland were evaded.

The impossibility of preventing the clandestine importation of a variety of the most important articles, was strongly insisted on; and it was added, that the competition which would arise betwixt the two kingdoms, which should sell cheapest, would of course increase the evil. Finally, it was argued, that such was the nature of the propositions, that in whatever proportion one country might benefit from them, in the very same the other would become a loser; and that as to Ireland, whether the advantages gained on her part were great or small, they were to be purchased at the price of her liberty.

In favour of the system it was argued, that it was a measure of absolute necessity, in order to put an end to the discontents which prevailed to so alarming a degree in the sister kingdom. That if the present propositions were

were not passed into a law, all that had already been done in favour of Ireland would prove nugatory, as it was clearly inadequate to the expectations of that country.

That with respect to the *fourth* proposition, it was a condition which the safety of our own navigation laws made it necessary to annex to the boon granted to Ireland. That it was unfair to infer from hence that the British legislature had any views of trenching on the independence of Ireland, since it left to that kingdom the option of taking or refusing the advantages held out to her, subject to such a condition. That the condition itself was such as had frequently been adopted in the negotiations of independent states; as in the late treaty betwixt this kingdom and France, when the latter bound herself to publish certain edicts, as soon as other edicts stipulated on our part were published by this country*.

With respect to the disadvantages which it had been supposed our manufactures would have to encounter from the comparative small price of labour in Ireland, it was said such a supposition arose from a misconception of facts; that the wages of artizans and manufacturers, although not of common labourers, were higher there than in this country, and therefore there was little likelihood of their being able to undersell us on that ground. Nor could our commerce be in any danger from the reasons which had been alleged, since the provisions and restrictions contained in the propositions were sufficient as well to prevent any clandestine importation of foreign goods into Ireland, as to insure the duties payable on all such as might be legally imported.

* In answer to this argument, Mr. Fox replied, that in the case stated, one nation bound itself to do something defined and specific, when the other adopted some other defined and specific measure. To make the cases similar, an instance should be produced, which Mr. Fox affirmed could not be found in the history of mankind, where one independent state bound itself solemnly to do any thing undefined, unspecific, and uncertain, at the arbitrary demand of another.

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The propositions, after having been agitated upwards of three months, and after having received a variety of amendments and alterations, finally passed the house of commons by a large majority, and on the 30th of May were carried up to the house of lords. They here again encountered a considerable degree of opposition, and received several amendments, although not of a material nature.

The propositions having thus passed both houses, a bill founded on them was brought into the house of commons by Mr. Pitt, which was read the first time before the end of the session (July 28); and was followed by an address to his majesty, voted by both houses, wherein they acquainted him with what they had done, and that it remained for the parliament of Ireland to judge and decide thereupon.

That kingdom had attended the progress of the propositions the British parliament with much anxiety and impatience. On their arrival, they met with the most discouraging reception; they were petitioned against by several of the public bodies, and many of the members of the Irish house of commons strongly marked their disapprobation of the additions and alterations which the original system had undergone.

On the 12th of August, the secretary to the lord lieutenant moved the house for leave to bring in a bill correspondent to that moved by the English minister. The debates on this occasion, and more especially on the side of opposition, were long and animated. Whatever had the least appearance of infringing on the legislative independency of Ireland, was marked and stigmatised in terms of the utmost indignation and contempt. The perpetual disposition of her hereditary revenue by the last proposition---the surrender of her commercial legislation by the fourth---the restraint imposed on her from trading beyond the cape of Good Hope and the straits of Magellan by the ninth---were put in every point of view in which reasoning and eloquence could render them impressive and convincing. On this side of the question, Mr. Grattan and Mr. Flood were the most conspicuous speakers.

speakers. The first of these gentlemen, after stating the present situation of Ireland, with respect to the advantages she had already acquired, compared it with the condition it would be left in by the system now proposed. “See,” said he, “what you obtained without compensation; a colony trade, a free trade, the independency of your judges, the government of your army, the extension of the constitutional powers of your council, the restoration of the judicature of your lords, and the independency of your legislature!”

“See now what you obtain by compensation; a covenant not to trade beyond the cape of Good Hope and the streights of Magellan; a covenant not to take foreign plantation produce, but as the parliament of Great Britain shall permit; a covenant not to take British plantation produce, but as Great Britain shall prescribe; a covenant not to take certain produce of the United States of North America, but as Great Britain shall permit; a covenant to make such acts of navigation as Great Britain shall prescribe; a covenant never to protect your own manufactures, never to guard the *primum* of those manufactures!”

In favour of the bill it was urged by Mr. Fitzgibbon*, Mr. Hutchinson †, and Mr. Forster ‡, that the fourth proposition, which had excited so much jealousy and alarm, could not on any fair construction be said to take from Ireland her right of commercial legislation, any more than the acts passed in 1779 and 1782 had done before; wherein Ireland had stipulated to trade with the British colonies and settlements in such manner as Great Britain herself traded, to impose the like duties, and to adopt the same restrictions and regulations. That in the bill before them, it was proposed to trade with Great Britain on the same principle; the liberty of either complying with the conditions, or renouncing the agreement

* The Attorney General.

† Provost of Trinity college, Dublin.

‡ Chancellor of the Exchequer.

in toto, whenever the conditions should become obnoxious and dissatisfactory, would be left by the present bill full as much in the power of the Irish parliament, as it was by either of the foregoing acts. The difference only was, that by the former acts Ireland had subscribed to the commercial laws which had been adopted by Great Britain for 290 years back; by the present, to such as that country should bind itself to in future; but that it would be still in the power of the Irish parliament to renounce these laws, and the whole agreement together, whenever she thought proper. On the other hand, the commercial advantages offered to Ireland by the bill were stated to be very important; the linen trade was thereby secured to her for ever; the colony trade through Ireland to Great Britain was given her; the British markets were thrown open to Irish manufactures; and again, as these manufactures were allowed to be re-exported from Great Britain, with a drawback of all duties, the Irish would, in effect, export on the foundation of British capital, at the same time that they were left to employ their own capital in the extension of their home manufactures.

The house at length divided upon the question; when there appeared for leave to bring in the bill 127, against it 108.

So small a majority in favour of so important a measure, was looked upon as a defeat; and accordingly, although Mr. Orde afterwards moved to have the bill read a first time, and to be printed, yet he declared he should not proceed any farther in the business during the present session, nor at all, unless the kingdom in general should grow to a better liking of a measure, which he was confident, upon a farther and more temperate re-consideration of its principles, would obtain their approbation.

Thus terminated the intended commercial arrangement betwixt Great Britain and Ireland, after having exercised the attention of both kingdoms for upwards of seven months.

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We shall take this opportunity, before we dismiss our review of Irish affairs, to mention the intended settlement of the Genevese emigrants in Ireland.

The disputes and dissensions which had so long subsisted betwixt the *aristocratic* and *democratic* powers in the republic of Geneva being finally terminated in favour of the former, through the interference of the kings of France and Sardinia, and the cantons of Zurich and Berne, a number of the citizens of the popular party resolved to quit a country, in the government of which their weight and authority was totally at an end.

On this occasion they turned their eyes upon Ireland, and commissioners were accordingly sent by them to Dublin, to consult and treat with government there relative to their reception into that kingdom. The commissioners, on their arrival, received the greatest personal attention from the people in general, but more especially from the different corps of volunteers in the province of Leinster, into several of which, as a mark of respect paid to the cause they came to solicit, they were chosen as members.

Their request, with respect to the admission of their countrymen into Ireland, was complied with, and a particular tract of land in the county of Waterford was afterwards set apart for the new settlers.

Notwithstanding these preparations, the whole scheme in the end proved abortive. The terms insisted upon by the Genevese, previous to their becoming subjects of a new state, were, 1st. That they should be represented in parliament. 2dly. That they should be formed into a distinct corporation. And, 3dly. That they should be governed by their own laws. The first of these conditions might have been a matter of opinion, and subject to discussion; but the two last were held to be incompatible with the laws and the constitution of Ireland, and as such were totally rejected.

This disagreement between the parties on leading points stopped all further procedure in the business. Some of the Genevese, however, transported themselves into Ireland; but they soon found by experience, that

nothing was gained by changing their situation, and most of them, after a short stay, quitted the kingdom.

The transactions which were carrying on in Great Britain will now be reverted to. But happily the tranquillity which pervaded Europe in general, and England in particular, at this period, leaves little to the pen of history to record, and still less for the philanthropist to deplore; because that state of human affairs which is most conducive to the universal happiness of mankind, is commonly most barren of political incident. Nations which had lately been convulsed and oppressed by the barbarous rage of war, were now directed to the salutary task of repairing their injured finances, or improving their dilapidated commerce.

The British parliament assembled on the 24th of January 1786. In the speech from the throne, the king declared to the house of commons his earnest wish to enforce œconomy in every department; recommending to them the maintenance of our naval strength on the most respectable footing; and above all the establishment of a fixed plan for the *reduction of the national debt*. Though addresses were moved and carried through both houses, yet the speech itself underwent a considerable degree of animadversion. Mr. Fox took this opportunity to enter at large into the situation in which we stood with respect to the several powers of Europe. He censured the impolitic conduct of his majesty's ministers, in not cultivating useful alliances, and their negligence in being perpetually behind hand in all their foreign negotiations.

It was owing, he said, to their criminal misconduct that the house of Bourbon had got the start of England in their late treaty with the United Provinces, by which France, Spain, and Holland, three of the most powerful maritime nations of Europe, were combined in a confederacy against Great Britain.

The first object which engaged the attention of parliament, was a plan proposed by the Duke of Richmond, as master-general of the ordnance, for the fortification of the dock-yards at Portsmouth and Plymouth. The outlines of this scheme had, by his majesty's command, been
submitted,

submitted, in the course of the preceding summer, to the examination of a board of land and sea officers, whose report was afterwards examined by a board of engineers, for the purpose of forming a proper estimate of the expense. On the 10th of February the estimate of the ordnance, which amounted to 760,097 l. was brought up by Mr. Pitt, in the committee of supply. That gentleman called the attention of the house to the plan laid before them in the course of the last session by the same noble Duke, which had since met with the sanction and approbation of a board of land and sea officers appointed for that purpose. The surprise which was manifested last year, when the question was under discussion, now rose into indignation and resentment. The subject was at length brought under the consideration of the house in the form of a resolution. Mr. Sheridan was the most distinguished speaker on that occasion. He objected to the proposal in the first place, upon general and constitutional grounds, and strongly recommended "a constitutional jealousy" of every augmentation of the military force of the nation. "It was," he said, "the nature of kings to love power, and in the constitution of armies to obey kings. It was the duty of parliament (he observed), on every occasion, to look forward with a suspicious eye to the fatal consequences of such augmentation, should that force by any unforeseen and unhappy chance, be ever entrusted to improper hands."

The second ground on which Mr. Sheridan objected to the motion was, that the report itself of the board of general officers did not warrant or authorise the system. He said, that mutilated as the report appeared before the house, it was still evident, that, so far from having received the unanimous sanction of the board, from the reference which was made to the minutes of the *naval* officers, there was reason to believe that those minutes contained a condemnation of the plan. He contended also, that the opinion of the *land* officers was founded upon hypothetical and conditional suggestions, and upon such *data* as the master general of the ordnance had proposed

to them, for the truth or probability of which, the board invariably refused to make themselves responsible.

The minister upon this occasion, found himself greatly deserted by the country gentlemen, or independent interest of the house; and the division was rendered memorable by an exact equality of numbers, both the ayes and the noes amounting to 169. The speaker being of course compelled to give his casting vote, acquired much credit and applause, by adding his negative to those who had voted for the rejection of this chimerical system of defence.

It was thought singular that the minister, notwithstanding this defeat, should have the temerity, after an interval of a few weeks, to bring forward the question once more in a new form, by moving, "That an estimate of the expense of such part of the plan of fortification recommended in the late report, as might appear most necessary to be carried into immediate execution, be referred to a committee of supply." Mr. Pitt, however, perceiving the house so manifestly adverse to this attempt, thought proper to withdraw his motion; on which Mr. Fox expressed his earnest hope "that ministers would in future pay more respect to the opinion of the legislature, and not attempt to force an obnoxious measure upon the country." In short, the public seemed to be convinced that both Mr. Pitt and the duke of Richmond, in the prosecution of this favourite project, relied upon far other and *higher* support than that which could be derived from the obscure and ambiguous decision of a board of general officers.

An alteration in one of the clauses of the mutiny bill was this year introduced, which subjected officers by brevet, although out of the service, to the regulation of the act.

In the month of March the grand business of the session, as alluded to in the speech, was brought forward. Mr. Pitt moved for the appointment of a select committee, by ballot, to report to the house the state of the public revenue and expenditure. The result of their inquiry

quiry was in a high degree pleasing and satisfactory. The amount of the revenue for 1785, was estimated at 15,397,000*l*. The permanent expenditure, including the civil list, and the interests payable on the different funds, amounted to 10,554,000*l*. The peace establishment, allowing eighteen thousand men for the navy, and the usual complement of seventy regiments for the army, exclusive of life guards and cavalry, was estimated at 3,924,000*l*. in all 14,478,000*l*.; of consequence there remained a surplus of more than 900,000*l*.

The minister, upon this report, observed, that though this was stated to be the annual expenditure, an interval must elapse before this reduction could take place; this term he fixed at four years. He calculated that the exceedings of the army, navy, ordnance, together with the sums necessary for the indemnification of the American loyalists, would amount to about three millions. These unavoidable exceedings were amongst the bitter fruits of the late war; but there were sums appropriated during it to different services, which had not been expended; four hundred and fifty thousand pounds had already been paid into the exchequer upon this account, and he conjectured that there was another million in the hands of former paymasters, which would soon be brought in.

There was, moreover, a balance of 600,000*l*. due to government, from the East India company. He then proposed to the house, that the sum of one million annually be invariably applied to the liquidation of the national debt. The surplus of the revenue, amounting to the sum of 900,000*l*. only, Mr. Pitt moved for an additional duty on spirits, on certain kinds of timber imported, and on perfumery, which would together be more than sufficient to make up the deficiency. He proposed to vest this annual million in the hands of certain commissioners, to be by them applied regularly to the purpose of stock; so that no sum should ever lie within the grasp large enough to tempt him to violate this sacred deposit. The interests annually discharged were, conformably to this plan, to be added to, and incor-

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porated with, the original fund : so that it would operate with a determined and accelerated velocity : Being, in this respect, framed upon the model of the sinking fund, formerly projected by sir Robert Walpole. This fund was also to be assisted by the annuities granted for different terms, which would from time to time fall in within the limited period of 28 years, at the expiration of which Mr. Pitt calculated that the fund would produce an income of 4,000,000 per annum. When the plan was arrived at this state, parliament might adopt new measures for the relief of the nation, by extinguishing some of the most oppressive taxes. The commissioners to be appointed under the act were, the chancellor of the exchequer, the speaker of the house of commons, the master of the rolls, the governor and deputy governor of the bank of England, and the accomptant general of the high court of Chancery.

In the progress of the bill Mr. Fox suggested, “ that whenever a loan should hereafter be made, the commissioners should be empowered to accept the loan, or such proportion of it as should be equal to the cash then in their hands ; the interest and *douceur* annexed to which should be applied to the purposes of the sinking fund.” This amendment was received with facility by Mr. Pitt, and the bill finally passed with the great and deserved approbation of all intelligent persons throughout the kingdom, who concurred with the recent report of the commissioners, “ that some plan must be adopted for the reduction of the national debt, or serious consequences will ensue.”

The nation regretted to find that amidst this laudable plan of œconomy, and even before the sinking fund bill passed into a law, a message was delivered from the king to the house of commons by the minister, stating, “ that it gave him great concern to inform them, that it had not been found *possible* to confine the expenses of the civil list within the annual sum of 850,000 l. now applicable to that purpose. A farther debt had been necessarily incurred, and the king relied on the zeal and affection

fection of his parliament to make provision for its discharge."

Mr. Pitt stated, in support of the motion grounded on this message, "that, under Mr Burke's reform bill, an annual reduction of 50,000*l.* from the civil list had been set apart by the parliament, for the liquidation by instalments of the sum of 300,000*l.* then issued in exchequer bills for the supply of former deficiencies. Of this debt 180,000*l.* yet remained unpaid, and a fresh debt of 30,000*l.* had accrued; and he rested the necessity of a grant equal to those united sums upon this *perplexing dilemma*: Either parliament had, at the period referred to, directed when the proposed liquidation should be effected, the civil list should be allowed 50,000*l.* per annum more than was necessary, or it was then put upon a footing of 50,000*l.* per annum less than was necessary: Experience had proved the latter to be the case; and therefore it was reasonable to expect that the sum of 210,000*l.* now requisite to clear off the old and new incumbrances, would be voted without hesitation."

Those who wished rather to lessen than to augment the burdens of the people, answered the advocates of courtly magnificence with great force and energy; they contended, that it was possible that the dignity of the crown might be supported without passing the prescribed limits. Perhaps some of the members might recollect on this occasion, that the executive government of the republic of America was supported without any apparent forfeiture of *dignity*, at less than one *fortieth* part of the expense. To those who were acquainted with the growing influence of the crown, it was a matter of more regret than surprise, that the money requested was ultimately voted.

During this session, many petitions were presented for the repeal of the unpopular tax upon retail shops, but without the desired effect. An attempt was also made by Mr. Pulteney, supported by many respectable members of the house, to repeal a most detestably oppressive clause, in the late act relative to hawkers and pedlars, by which justices of the peace were empowered to imprison any person of this profession at their discretion. This
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proposal was rejected at the second reading, by a majority of fifty voices.

A bill was passed, in this session, for transferring part of the duties on foreign wines, from the customs to the excise. Mr. Pitt stated the revenue on this article to be inferior, by the sum of 280,000 l. to what it had been in the middle of the century. This measure was opposed in the house of lords by lord Loughborough (who was now changed into a whig and a patriot), as in the highest degree arbitrary and unconstitutional. He was answered by lord Camden, whose zeal for the constitution had not been subject to such remarkable variations. Lord Camden admitted, "That the excise laws, taken collectively, might in a certain sense be considered as a departure from the constitution; but the present state of the country rendered them necessary. The present bill, in particular, was calculated to counteract the notorious impositions practised by the wine merchants, to delude the public, to cheat the revenue, and injure the health of the consumer."

Mr. Hastings, late governor of Bengal, arrived in England in the month of June 1785; and the season being then far advanced, Mr. Burke gave notice of his intention, to move early in the next session for parliamentary investigation into his conduct.

Major Scott, who had upon all occasions distinguished himself as the friend and advocate of Mr. Hastings, on the first day of the meeting of parliament, reminded Mr. Burke of the pledge he had made, and challenged him in peremptory terms to come to an immediate decision.

On Friday the 17th of February, Mr. Burke brought this subject before the house of commons: After desiring the clerk to read the 44th and 45th resolutions of censure and recal of Mr. Hastings, moved by Mr. Dundas on the 29th of May 1782, he said that he entirely agreed in opinion with the friends of that gentleman, that the resolution which had been read should not be suffered to remain a mere calumny on the page of their journals; at the same time he lamented that the solemn business of the day should have devolved upon him by the natural death of
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some, by the political death of others, and in some instances by a death to duty and to principle. It would doubtless, said he, have come forward with much more weight and effect in the hands of the right honourable gentleman who had induced the house to adopt those resolutions, or in those of another gentleman, who had taken an active part in the select committee, and then enjoyed a confidential post in the Indian department,—the secretary of the board of control; but as he could not perceive any intentions of the kind in either of those members, and as he had been personally called upon, in a manner highly honourable to the party interested in the proceeding, but in a manner which rendered it impossible for him not to do his duty, he should endeavour to the best of his power to support the credit and dignity of the house, to enforce its intentions, and give vigour and effect to a sentence passed four years ago; and he trusted that he should receive that protection, that fair and honourable interpretation of his conduct, which the house owed to those who acted in its name, and under the sanction of its authority.

Having endeavoured upon this ground to remove the odium of appearing a forward prosecutor of public delinquency, Mr. Burke called back the recollection of the house to the several proceedings which had been had in parliament respecting the mal-administration of the company's affairs in India, from the period of lord Clive's government down to the reports of the secret and select committees, the resolutions moved thereupon, and the approbation repeatedly given to these proceedings by his majesty from the throne.—It was upon the authority, the sanction, and the encouragement thus afforded him, that he rested his accusation of Mr. Hastings, as a delinquent of the first magnitude.

After going through an infinite variety of topics relative to this part of his subject, he proceeded to explain the process which he should recommend to the house to pursue. There were, he observed, three several modes of proceeding against state delinquents, which, according to the exigencies of particular cases, had each at different

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times been adopted. The first was to direct his majesty's attorney-general to prosecute; from this mode he acknowledged himself totally averse, not only because he had not discovered in the learned gentleman, whose respectable character and professional abilities had advanced him to that high official situation, that zeal for public justice in the present instance, which was a necessary qualification in a public prosecutor; but more especially, because he thought a trial in the court of King's Bench, amidst a cloud of clauses of *meum* and *tuum*, of trespass, assault, battery, conversion, and trover, &c. &c. not at all suited to the size and enormity of the offender, or to the complicated nature and extent of his offences. Another mode of proceeding occasionally adopted by the house was by *bill of pains and penalties*; this mode he also greatly disapproved of, in the first place, as attended with great hardship and injustice to the party prosecuted, by obliging him to anticipate his defence; and secondly, as putting the house in a situation which, where the nature of the case did not absolutely require it, ought carefully to be avoided, that of shifting its character backwards and forwards, and appearing in the same cause one day as accusers, and another as judges.—The only process that remained, was by the ancient and constitutional mode of *impeachment*; and even in adopting this process, he should advise the house to proceed with all possible caution and prudence. It had been usual, he observed, in the first instance, to resolve that the party accused should be impeached, and then to appoint a committee to examine the evidence, and find the articles on which the impeachment was to be founded.—This mode of proceeding had, from the heat and passion with which the minds of men were sometimes apt to be inflamed, led the house, on more than one occasion, into the disgraceful dilemma of either abandoning the impeachment they had voted, or of preferring articles which they had not evidence to support.---In order to steer clear of this disgrace, he should move that such papers as were necessary for substantiating the guilt of Mr. Hastings, if guilt there was, should be laid before the house; and that these papers, together with the charges

charges extracted from them, should be referred to a committee of the whole house, and evidence examined thereon: if the charges should then appear, what he believed they would be found to be, charges of the blackest and foulest nature, and supported by competent and sufficient evidence, the house would then proceed with confidence and dignity to the bar of the house of lords.

Having stated these matters with great precision, Mr. Burke went into a series of reflections on the nature of the office he had undertaken. Every accuser, he said, was himself under accusation at the very time he accused another; it behoved him to act upon sure grounds, and he had therefore chosen the line of conduct he had just explained, as being at the same time the most effectual for the purposes of public justice, and the least exposed to the danger of error: He urged the unavoidable necessity of making the inquiry personal: He asked what would be the sentiments of the miserable and oppressed natives of India, if the result of the proceedings in that house should be to find that enormous peculation existed, but that there was no peculator; that there was gross corruption, but no person to corrupt, or to be corrupted; that a torrent of violence, oppression, and cruelty, had deluged that country, but that every soul in it was just, moderate, and humane? To trace peculation to the peculator, corruption to its source, and oppression to the oppressor, had been the object of the researches of the several committees that had been instituted at different times by that house; and the result was, they found that the government in India could not be foul and the governor pure. After a speech of considerable length, in which these and many other topics of the same nature were argued with great force and perspicuity, Mr. Burke concluded, by moving, "That copies of all correspondence, since the month of January 1782, between Warren Hastings, Esq. governor general of Bengal, and the court of directors, as well before as since the return of the said governor general, relative to presents and other money particularly received by the said governor general, be laid before this house."

The reflections thrown out by Mr. Burke, relative to the resolutions of the secret committee and the conduct of Mr. Dundas, called up that gentleman to justify the part he had taken.---He acknowledged that he undoubtedly was the person who suggested the resolutions alluded to, and he had not the smallest scruple to admit that the same sentiments that he entertained respecting Mr. Hastings, at the time of proposing those resolutions, he entertained at that moment; but would any one contend that those sentiments went so far as to suppose Mr. Hastings to be a fit object for a criminal prosecution? The resolutions went to the recal of Mr. Hastings; a matter which he at the time thought expedient, and had recommended it to the house as a matter of expediency only. He thought the conduct of Mr. Hastings, since the period to which those resolutions referred, not only not criminal but highly meritorious; and he had for that reason approved of the vote of thanks which the court of directors had conferred upon him.

The charge of consistency being again urged against Mr. Dundas with great severity, by Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt rose up in his defence, and retorted the charge with some acrimony on Mr. Fox, whose conduct, he said, in the coalition he had formed with a person whom he had been in the habit of loading with the most extravagant reproaches, had sufficiently explained to the public his ideas of consistency. He contended that the resolution of recal by no means pledged the house to prosecute; since, if that were the case, they would on all occasions be reduced to the necessity either of hesitating on such a step (however urgent the emergency might be), until a full examination of the conduct of the person could be had, or of rendering a prosecution unavoidable, although no adequate inquiry had been instituted to evince its propriety. The resolutions contained in themselves the whole of the object for which they were designed, namely, that in order to recover the lost confidence of the princes of India, it was advisable, what?---to punish?---No! but to recal certain of the company's servants. Whether the conduct by which the confidence had been lost was imputable as a

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crime to those servants, was totally another consideration: He was indeed ready to join in opinion with the gentlemen opposite to him, that if any real guilt was to be investigated, and adequate punishment to be inflicted, his right honourable friend would be full as proper a person to take the lead, and full as likely to accomplish all the purposes of public justice, as those gentlemen into whose hands the prosecution would fall; but, as it had been said in the course of the debate that there were occasions when the formal rules of common justice might be overleaped, and a prosecution conducted with violence and resentment, rather than by the dull forms of ordinary proceedings; perhaps, considering the present business in that point of view, the gentlemen that had taken it up were the fittest people to be entrusted with it. With respect to the papers moved for, Mr. Pitt made no objection, but hoped the gentleman who moved for them would inform the house, as early and as explicitly as possible, of the nature and extent of the charges he intended to make.

The question being carried, Mr. Burke proceeded to move for a great variety of other papers, which he alleged were necessary for the prosecution of the cause he had undertaken. These motions produced much conversation, and towards the close of the day there appeared some hesitation in the ministers of the crown, whether it would be proper to produce whatever papers might be called for on the mere suggestion of the mover, without insisting upon his stating to the house the connexion they had with the matters contained in the reports of the committees, beyond which they did not think he ought to go in the matter of his intended accusation. At this stage of the business the house adjourned at one o'clock, on account of the illness of the speaker; and the day following the conversation was renewed, upon a motion for papers relative to the affairs of Oude.

It was urged, that it would be a precedent of a very dangerous nature to suffer papers, of the contents of which the house was in a great measure ignorant, to be laid upon the table, merely on the word of any individual member. Why did not the honourable gentleman bring forward

forward a specific accusation? the house might then be enabled to judge whether the papers moved for were necessary to substantiate the charge or not; but till that was done, it was their duty to resist the production of them. In opposition to this unexpected obstacle, Mr. Burke contended, and endeavoured to prove from several instances, that the practice of the house by no means bound them down to the mode of proceeding to which it was attempted to subject him. In every criminal process, the accuser, who, by becoming such, took upon himself the *onus probandi*, was entitled to have such documents and papers as he esteemed necessary to support the charge he undertook to bring forward, open and accessible. A refusal must be attended with a double injustice. If the accused wanted collateral and explanatory aid, he ought not to be denied the means of digesting, explaining, or simplifying those facts of which he was in prior possession. If, on the other hand, the grounds of accusation could be extenuated, if the severity of the charge could be abated, nay, perhaps annihilated, a denial of that opportunity to the accuser was an injustice to the accused. He should therefore consider the rejection of his motion as a stratagem to get rid of the whole inquiry; but he entertained too strong a sense of what he owed to public justice, and to humanity, to accept of the subterfuge that was offered him, and steal away from and desert their cause. He knew that he should have to encounter a connected force of the first weight and influence in the country: But he had not undertaken the accusation upon light grounds, and he had the firmest reliance upon the justice of his cause. He had been told, that the prosecution would be unpopular; that the people of England would reject him in such a pursuit.---O miserable public! he exclaimed; what! for having taken up the cause of their injured and oppressed fellow-subjects in India, for attempting to bring to justice the plunderers of mankind, the desolators of provinces, the oppressors of an innocent and meritorious people, in every rank, sex, and condition, the violators of public faith, the destroyers of the British character and reputation---was he to be unpopular? Those who had
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raised monuments of their benevolence, by providing asylums and receptacles for human misery, were justly ranked for such deeds amongst the benefactors to mankind; but even these acts of patriotism and charity were not to be compared to the noble work of supporting the most sacred rights and valuable interests of mankind, by bringing to public justice the man who had sacrificed them to his cruelty, his avarice, and his ambition.

Major Scott followed Mr. Burke, and agreed in opinion with him, that the papers were necessary to be produced; and Mr. Pitt, after many professions of the most unbiassed impartiality, concurred with them; remarking, at the same time, that it would be but fair and candid in the right honourable mover, to give the house some specific information of the subject matter of his charges, and to state the grounds and reasons for the production of such papers, as he might think it necessary to call for in support of them. In compliance with this request, Mr. Burke read to the house a short abstract of the several charges which he designed to bring forward; and pointed out the matters, which the several papers he afterwards moved for were intended to explain and substantiate.

The rest of Mr. Burke's motions met with little opposition, till on the 3d of March, he moved for copies of letters and other papers, relative to the treaty of peace with the Mahrattas. This motion was opposed by Mr. Dundas and Mr. Pitt, on two grounds; first, that the treaty in question was a wise and salutary treaty, and had saved the British empire in Asia; and, secondly, that the production of the papers moved for would discover transactions relative to that peace, which ought to be kept a secret from the country powers in India, insomuch as it would disclose the means by which the several states that were confederate against England were made jealous of each other, and the intrigues by which they were induced to dissolve that confederacy. In answer to these objections, it was urged, by Mr. Burke and Mr. Fox, in the first place, that to argue from the merits of the peace, was to beg the question. Mr. Hastings was charged with having acted in that treaty unjustly, trea-

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cherously, and cruelly ; that was the point in issue, and it could only be tried by the production of the papers. The accuser alleged he was in possession of the facts, and demanded the public documents only as furnishing the means of formal evidence of his charge. In the second place it was argued, that the reasons given for withholding the papers were, in fact, the strongest reasons for producing them ; those reasons amounted to this, that the papers ought not to be produced, because they would discover in what manner the different powers in India had been sacrificed in that treaty to each other. -- the very point that was charged in the accusation. This argument, if carried to its full extent, would cover almost every species of political delinquency ; since it made it only necessary for the delinquent to add complicated treachery to his other crimes, to render it dangerous to bring him to a public trial. But the argument was futile in another respect ; the transactions alluded to were but too well known, and too generally condemned and reprobated throughout India. If they were to be a secret, it would be a secret only to the house of commons, and of this sufficient proof might easily be given. After a long debate, the house divided upon the motion, which was rejected by a majority of 87 to 44.

The conduct of administration in refusing the papers moved for by Mr. Burke, and the reasons upon which that refusal was grounded, appeared to the members in opposition of so serious and alarming a nature, that the same motion was twice renewed, on the 6th and on the 17th of March, by Mr. Fox, but restricted to the correspondence of a major Brown, an agent of Mr. Hastings at the court of Delhi. Copies of many parts of this correspondence were in the hands of some private individuals in England ; and they were used, in the course of the debate, both to prove the criminal conduct of Mr. Hastings, and the futility of the pretension of secrecy.

It was strongly urged, that if the grounds upon which ministers withheld those papers from the inspection of parliament, were admitted by the house as sufficient, it

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would in fact vest them with a power of protecting every delinquent, and quashing at the very outset every public inquiry. Notwithstanding the odium which was attempted by these repeated discussions to be thrown on administration, they continued firm in their refusal; urging, in addition to their former arguments, that the agency of major Brown was by no means proved, and that the correspondence in question appeared to contain merely the wild and chimerical projects of an unauthorised individual. The motion was rejected on the last day by 140 to 73.

On the 4th of April, Mr. Burke, in his place, charged Warren Hastings, esq. the late governor-general of Bengal, with sundry high crimes and misdemeanours, and delivered at the table the nine first articles of his charge, and the rest in the course of the following week, amounting in all to twenty-two in number. On the 26th, Mr. Hastings requested by petition to the house to be permitted to be heard in his defence to the several articles, and that he might be allowed a copy of the same. Mr. Burke declared his wish that every reasonable degree of indulgence should be shown to Mr. Hastings: He should therefore readily consent to his being heard in his defence, though he did not think it quite agreeable to the regularity of their proceeding, that he should be heard in the present stage of it. With respect to a copy of the charges, he believed there was no precedent of such an indulgence being granted. It was well known that it was his original intention to have gone through the whole of his evidence before he delivered in his articles, and to let the charge grow out of the evidence; but the house, in its wisdom, had thought proper to vote a different mode of proceeding; and to direct that the charges should be first made, and that he should then proceed to substantiate them by evidence. Hence he had been under the necessity of new arranging his plan, and of making his charges as comprehensive as possible, taking in and stating every thing with which private information could furnish him. In their present form, they were to be considered merely as a general collection of accusatory facts, intermixed with a variety of collateral matter,

matter, both of fact and reasoning, necessary for their elucidation; and the committee to which they were to be referred would necessarily find occasion to alter them materially. For this reason also, he thought it would be highly improper to give a copy of them, in the present stage of the business, to Mr. Hastings. These reasons, however, being overruled by the majority, and a copy ordered to be granted to Mr. Hastings, Mr. Burke moved, that the house should resolve itself into a committee, to examine the witnesses that had been ordered to attend. This was also objected to by the other side of the house, on this ground, that as they had agreed to hear the defence of Mr. Hastings, they ought to wait till that had been gone through, since he might possibly be able to offer such matter in exculpation of himself as would induce the house entirely to stop all further proceeding. This argument was strongly supported by the master of the rolls and the attorney general, and ably opposed by Mr. Hardinge, solicitor general to the queen, and Mr. Anstruther.

The decision of the house, by a majority of 140 to 80 against the proposition of Mr. Burke, was considered as a most favourable prognostic by the friends of Mr. Hastings; and they spoke with the utmost confidence of a speedy conclusion of the whole business in his favour.

On the 1st of May, Mr. Hastings being called to the bar, addressed the house in a short speech; in which he stated, that he considered his being allowed to be heard in that stage of the business as a very great indulgence, for which he begged leave to make his most grateful acknowledgements to the house; and as his wish was to deliver what he had to say in answer to the charges that had been presented against him by an honourable member, with a greater share of accuracy and correctness than he could pretend to in a speech from memory, he had committed his sentiments to writing, and hoped to be permitted to read them. This request being granted, Mr. Hastings proceeded to read his defence, in which he was assisted by Mr. Markham, a son of the archbishop of York, and the clerks of the house.

house. Three days were spent in going through the several parts of his defence; and it was afterwards, at the request of Mr. Hastings, ordered to be laid upon the table of the house, and printed for the use of the members.

As two articles only of the charge were decided upon in this session of parliament, we shall, for the sake of giving our readers a connected view of the whole subject together, defer entering at present into the subject matter of the charges exhibited, the proofs by which they were supported, or the allegations urged by Mr. Hastings in his defence, and content ourselves with a narrative of the proceedings of the house of commons.

In the mean time, the house, in a committee, proceeded in the examination of witnesses in proof of the charges; and on the 1st of June, Mr. Burke brought forward the Rohilla charge, and moved the following resolution thereupon: "That the committee, having considered the said article, and examined evidence on the same, are of opinion that there are grounds sufficient to charge Warren Hastings with high crimes and misdemeanours upon the matter of the said article."

Mr. Burke introduced his motion with a solemn invocation of the justice of the house, which he said was particularly due, as well to the people of Great Britain, because the national credit and character were deeply involved and implicated in the issue of the business about to be brought before them, as for the sake of their own honour and dignity. He described with great force the nature of the question to be decided; declaring emphatically, that it was an appeal from British power to British justice. The charge, he said, must either condemn the accuser or the accused: There was no medium. The result must be, that Warren Hastings, esq. had been guilty of gross, enormous, and flagitious crimes; or that he (Mr. Burke) was a base, calumnious, wicked, and malicious accuser. He enlarged upon the decree of guilt ascribable to that man who should dare presume to take up the time of the house by rashly coming forward, and urging groundless and ill-founded charges
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against a person who had been entrusted with high and exalted offices in the government of a part of our territories, much larger and more extensive than the whole island of Great Britain. There were, he observed, but three sources of false accusation, viz. ignorance, inadvertency, or passion; by none of these three had he been actuated: Ignorance he could not plead, because he knew the subject as fully as the labour and study of six years could make him know it: Inadvertency as little could he be charged with, because he had deliberately proceeded, and examined every step he took in the business with the most minute and cautious attention: And, least of all, could it be said, with any colour of truth, that he had been actuated by passion. Anger indeed he had felt, but surely not a blameable anger; for who ever heard of an inquiring anger, a digesting anger, a collating anger, an examining anger, or a selecting anger? The anger he had felt was an uniform, steady, public anger, but never a private anger; that anger which five years ago warmed his breast, he felt precisely the same and unimpaired at that moment. Not all the various occurrences of the last five years, neither five changes of administration, nor the retirement of the summer, nor the occupation of winter, neither his public nor his private avocations, nor the snow which in that period had so plentifully showered on his head, had been able to cool that anger, which he acknowledged to feel as a public man, but which, as a private individual, he had never felt for one moment.

He observed, that the vote they were to give that day was not merely on the case of Mr. Hastings; they were to vote a set of maxims and principles, to be the guide of all future governors in India. The code of political principles which they should that day establish as the principles of British government in its distant provinces, would stand recorded as a proof of their wisdom and justice, or of their disposition to tyranny and oppression. He entered at large into those peculiar circumstances in the connexion between this country and India, which rendered the retribution of justice, in cases
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of cruelty and oppression, extremely difficult, and contrasted them with the situation of the provinces conquered by the Romans. The Roman empire was an empire of continuity, each province being either immediately or nearly accessible by land; they had likewise one general tongue to speak with, so that each man was able to tell his tale in his own way. They had another advantage, which arose from the very circumstance of their being conquered, and it was that the principal persons who accomplished the conquest always acquired a property and influence in each new province by them subdued, and of course the vanquished found patrons and protectors in the persons of their conquerors. Each province was also considered as a body corporate; and consequently each province was enabled to send their grievance to Rome collectively, and to state them as speaking with one mouth. He next adverted to the situation of an accuser in Rome, and to the advantages that attended him in prosecuting his charges against a state delinquent, who was stripped of his power, and even of his rights as a citizen, pending the prosecution, the better to enable his accuser to make out and establish his accusation. He drew a distinction between this facility of coming at a Roman governor, charged with high crimes and misdemeanours, and the extreme difficulty of substantiating an accusation against a British governor. When it was considered that Mr. Hastings had been for fourteen years at the head of the government in India, and that no one complaint during that time had been transmitted to England against him, the house must be convinced of the enormous degree of power he had to contend with, to which alone could be ascribed the silence in question, since it was not in human nature, situated as Mr. Hastings had been, to preserve so pure, even-handed, and unimpeachable a conduct, as to afford no room for a single accusation to be stated against him.

After this exordium, Mr. Burke stated at large the subject matter of the charge, and concluded a long and eloquent speech, with desiring the clerk to read the resolution

resolution of May 1782, to clear himself from the imputation of having rashly and singly meddled with the subject ; and to show that the house had, in very strong terms, already reprobated Mr. Hastings's conduct in the Rohilla war. The motion was supported by Mr. Wilbraham, Mr. Powis, Mr. Montague, Lord North, Mr. M. A. Taylor, Mr. Wyndham, and Mr. Hardinge ; and opposed by Mr. Nicholls, Lord Mornington, Mr. H. Browne, and Lord Mulgrave. At half past three o'clock the debate was adjourned, and renewed the day following by Mr. Francis, Mr. Anstruther, and Mr. Fox, on the one side ; and Mr. W. Grenville, Mr. J. Scott, Mr. Burton, Mr. Wilberforce, and Mr. Dundas, on the other. At half past seven the committee divided, when there appeared, for the motion 67, against it 119.

On the 13th of June, Mr. Fox brought forward the charge respecting the Raja of Benares. Nearly the same persons took a part in this debate as in the former, and it was carried by a majority of 119 to 79, " that there was matter of impeachment against Warren Hastings contained in the said charge." The chancellor of the exchequer concurred in this vote, but upon very narrow ground. He thought that the demands made upon the Raja went beyond the exigence of the case, and that Mr. Hastings had pushed the exercise of the arbitrary discretion entrusted to him beyond the necessity of the service. The conduct of the minister on this occasion drew upon him much indecent calumny from the friends of Mr. Hastings ; they did not hesitate to accuse him out of doors, both publicly and privately, of treachery. They declared it was in the full confidence of his protection and support, that they had urged on Mr. Burke to bring forward his charges ; and that the gentleman accused had been persuaded to come to their bar, with an hasty and premature defence : And they did not scruple to attribute this conduct in the minister to motives of the basest jealousy.

During the course of the proceedings of the house of commons on the impeachment of Mr. Hastings, another subject,

subject, relative to the administration of the company's affairs in India, underwent a warm discussion in both houses of parliament; this was a bill brought in by Mr. Dundas, for amending Mr. Pitt's act, passed in the year 1784, for regulating the government of the East India company. Previous to the first mention of the subject by Mr. Dundas, Mr. Francis had moved for leave to bring in a bill with the same title, but much more extensive in its objects. Upon this motion the previous question was put, and carried without a division. The principal object of Mr. Dundas's bill was to enlarge the powers of the governor general; first, by vesting in him the nomination to the vacant seats in the council: secondly, by uniting the offices of governor general and commander in chief of the forces: And thirdly, by authorising him to decide upon every measure, whether his council agreed with him or not. Leave being given to bring in the bill, Mr. Francis moved, that it be an instruction to the gentlemen appointed to prepare and bring in a bill to explain and amend an act, passed in the 24th year of his Majesty's reign, intituled, "An act, &c." that in preparing the same they do never lose sight of the effect, which any measure to be adopted for the good government of our possessions in India may have on our own constitution, and our dearest interests at home; and particularly, that in amending the said act they do take care that no part thereof shall be confirmed or re-enacted, by which the unalienable birthright of every British subject to a trial by jury, as declared in *Magna Charta*, shall be taken away or impaired." This motion was rejected without debate, by a majority of 85 to 16.

On the 22d of March the bill was committed, when the clauses conferring so extraordinary a degree of power on the governor general were opposed with a torrent of eloquence by Mr. Burke. He protested in the strongest terms against the principle of a bill, which was, he said, to introduce an arbitrary and despotic government in India, on the false pretence of its tending greatly to the strength and security of the British possessions there, and giving energy, vigour, and despatch to the measures and

proceedings of the executive government. He reprobated the whole of this idea, contending that an arbitrary and despotic government was always sure to produce the reverse of energy, vigour, and despatch; its constant features being weakness, debility, and delay. He referred to the Turkish government, and every arbitrary government that ever existed, in proof of his assertion.

In answer to these objections, Mr. Dundas contended, that before gentlemen took upon them to charge the empowering the governor general to act, in cases of emergency, without the concurrence of the council, as the introduction of arbitrary government, it behoved them to prove that arbitrary government depended more upon one person governing than two, a position which he believed it would not be easy to make out. He had ever considered the governing by known laws, the preservation of all the rights and franchises of subjects, and trial in all cases of property by the established judicature of the country, as the invariable and undoubted proofs of freedom. This was the real case of India; the person entrusted with the administration of the country was indeed invested with more power, but he had therefore the greater responsibility: Though in cases of great emergency, he was allowed to act without the concurrence of his council, yet he had still his council to advise with, and they were always about him, as checks and controls upon his conduct: In fact, the governor could do no more under the present clause than he could have done with the concurrence of his council before; in proportion as he had more personal power, so had the bill provided more responsibility.

All the mischiefs and all the misfortunes which had for years taken place in India, he was satisfied, in his own mind, after long and attentive inquiry into the affairs of that country, arose entirely from the party principles of the members of the different councils in existence there, and the factious scenes which those councils had almost uniformly presented.

In the house of lords the bill was opposed on the same grounds, with great ability, by lord Carlisle, lord Sturmont,

mont, and especially by lord Loughborough. In both houses it was supported by large majorities, and finally passed into a law.

On Tuesday the 11th of July, his majesty came down to the house of lords, and closed the session with a speech from the throne. He expressed the particular satisfaction he had received from their attention to the public business, and from the measures which had been adopted for improving the resources of the country.

He thanked the house of commons for the supplies which they had granted for the current year, and for the provision which they had made for discharging the incumbrances on the civil list: From the plan adopted for the reduction of the national debt, he looked for the most salutary effects; it was an object which he considered as inseparably connected with the interests of the public. He said, that the assurances he had from abroad promised the continuance of general tranquillity: And he concluded by observing, that the happy effects of peace had already appeared in the extension of the national commerce, and that no measures should be wanting on his part, which could tend to confirm those advantages, and to give additional encouragement to the manufactures and industry of his people.

His majesty's pleasure was then signified, that the parliament should be prorogued until the 14th of September.

It has been thought expedient to close the account of the parliamentary proceedings of this year, 1786, with noticing that the total of the supplies was 13,420,962*l.* the total of the ways and means 13,900,992*l.* and that the whole amount of the national debt on the 5th of January was 266,725,097*l.* the interest of which was 9,536,026*l.*

On the 2d of August, soon after the rising of Parliament, a singular incident occurred which engrossed for a moment the attention of the public. On that day, as the king was alighting from his post chariot at the garden entrance of St. James's palace, a woman decently dressed, presented a paper to his majesty; and while he was in the act of receiving it, she struck with a concealed knife at

his breast. The king happily avoided the blow by drawing back; and as she was preparing to make a second thrust, one of the yeomen caught her arm, and the weapon was wrenched out of her hand. The king, with great temper and fortitude, exclaimed, "I am not hurt; take care of the woman, do not hurt her."

The same day she underwent an examination before the privy council, when it appeared, she was the daughter of George Nicholson, of Stockton upon Tees; and that she had lived in several creditable services---that she had lived for the last three years by taking in plain work. Several persons who knew her were called, who said that she was very industrious, and they never suspected her of insanity, though they observed her to be very odd at times, frequently talking to herself---In her lodging were found three letters concerning her pretended right to the crown, one to lord Mansfield, one to lord Loughborough, and one to general Bramham. On being interrogated as to the nature of her right, she refused to answer, saying in the genuine style of authority, "that her rights were a mystery." After a full examination of Dr. John and Dr. Thomas Monro, and several other witnesses, as to the state of her mind, the privy council were clearly and unanimously of opinion that she was, and had been insane. In consequence of this determination, she was conveyed on the 9th of August to a cell prepared for her in Bethlehem hospital.

It appeared that this poor maniac had presented a petition, ten days before her attempt upon the king, full of wild and incoherent nonsense. Like many other petitions, it had probably never been read, or the person of the petitioner would have been secure.

In a few days after this event, the lord mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and common council of the city of London, went in procession to St. James's, to present an address to his majesty on this happy escape from *assassination*. This example was followed by nearly all the corporate bodies throughout the kingdom; and the popularity of the king was sensibly increased by this trivial incident. The number and quality of *knighthoods* conferred

ferred on occasion of these addresses, brought a successful ridicule upon that once honourable distinction ; for, however they were recognised at the herald's office, they were known to the people by an epithet which will announce to posterity both their *fame*, and the mental *infirmity* of Margaret Nicholson.

A melancholy event happened this year which excited general regret. On Thursday the 5th of January, the *Halsewell* East Indiaman, of 758 tons burden, commanded by Richard Pierce, Esq. after having experienced a tempestuous passage from the downs, in which she lost her masts, and had seven feet water in her hold, arrived within a mile and a half to the windward of St. Alban's-head, endeavouring to anchor in Studland-bay. Having let go the sheet anchor, and wore a whole cable, the ship rode for about two hours, and then drove. Whilst they were in this situation the captain sent for Mr. Henry Meriton, the chief officer who survived, and asked his opinion as to the probability of saving their lives ; to which he replied with equal calmness and candour, that he apprehended there was very little hope, as they were then driving fast on shore, and might expect every moment to strike. The boats were then mentioned, but it was agreed that at that time they could be of no use, yet in case an opportunity should present itself of making them serviceable, it was proposed, that the officers should be confidentially requested to reserve the long boat for the ladies who were passengers and themselves ; and this precaution was immediately taken. About two o'clock in the morning of the 6th, the ship still driving, and approaching very fast to the shore, the captain asked the same officer whether any means could be devised for saving his beloved daughters ; and on his answering that he feared it would be impossible, but that their only chance would be to wait for the morning, the captain lifted up his hands in silent and distressful ejaculation.

At this dreadful moment the ship struck with such violence as to dash the heads of those who were standing on the cuddy against the deck above them ; and the fatal blow was accompanied by a shriek of horror, which burst

at one instant from every quarter of the ship. The seamen, many of whom had been remarkably inattentive and remiss in their duty during great part of the storm, and had actually skulked in their hammocks, and left the exertion of the pump to the officers of the ship and the soldiers, who had been very active during the tremendous conflict, roused by the destructive blow to a sense of their danger, now poured upon the deck, to which no endeavours of their officers could keep them whilst their assistance might have been useful, and, in frantic exclamations, demanded of heaven and their fellow sufferers, that succour, which their timely efforts might possibly have succeeded in procuring; but it was now too late, the ship continued to beat upon the rocks, and soon bulged, and fell with her broadside towards the shore. When the ship struck, a number of the men climbed up the ensign-staff, under an apprehension of her going to pieces immediately. Mr. Meriton, at this crisis of horror, offered the only counsel to these unhappy beings which could possibly be given them; he recommended their coming all to that side of the ship which lay lowest on the rocks, and singly to take the opportunities which might then offer of escaping to the shore. He told captain Pierce that he hoped the ship would hold together till the morning, when they would all be safe. To understand this deplorable scene, it is necessary to observe, that the ship struck on the rocks near Seacombe, on the island of Purbeck, between Peverel Point and St. Alban's Head, at a part of the shore where the cliff is of vast height, and rises almost perpendicularly from the base. But at this particular spot the cliff is excavated at the foot, and presents a cavern of ten or twelve yards in depth, and of breadth equal to the length of a large ship, strowed with sharp and uneven rocks. It was at the mouth of this cavern that the unfortunate wreck lay stretched almost from side to side of it, and offering her broadside to the horrid chasm. But at the time the ship struck, it was too dark to discover the extent of their danger, and the extreme horror of their situation. At this moment, there were about fifty persons assembled in the round house; captain

captain Pierce sitting on a chair with a daughter on each side of him, whom he alternately pressed to his affectionate bosom. After having fixed lights at various parts of the ship, Mr. Meriton soon perceived a considerable alteration in her appearance; the sides were visibly giving way, the deck seemed to be lifting, and he discovered other symptoms that she could not hold together much longer: He therefore attempted to go forward to look out, but immediately saw that the ship was separated in the middle, and that the forepart had changed its position, and lay rather out towards the sea; he therefore determined to seize the present moment, and to follow the example of the crew and the soldiers, who were now quitting the ship in numbers, and making their way to a shore, of which they knew not yet the horror. He discovered a spar which appeared to be laid from the ship's side to the rock, and on this spar he thrust himself forward, but he soon found it had no communication with the rocks; he reached the end of it and then slipped off, receiving a very violent bruise in his fall; and before he could recover his legs he was washed off by the surge, in which he supported himself by swimming, till the returning wave dashed him against the back part of the cavern, where he laid hold of a small projecting piece of the rock, but was so benumbed, that he was on the point of quitting it, when a seaman who had already gained a footing, extended his hand, and assisted him till he could secure himself on a little shelf of the rock, from which he climbed still higher, till he was out of the reach of the surf. In a short time, twenty seven men had gained a precarious footing on this rock; but as it was low water, and as they were convinced that upon the flowing of the tide they must all be washed off, many of them attempted to get to the back or sides of the cavern, out of the reach of the returning sea. In this attempt scarce more than six besides himself and Mr. Brimer succeeded; of the remainder, some shared the same fate which they had apprehended, and others perished in their efforts to get into the cavern.

In a few minutes after they had gained this perilous situation, an universal shriek, in which the voice of female distress was lamentably distinguishable, was heard from the wreck, and announced the dreadful catastrophe: In a few moments all was hushed, except the warring winds and beating waves; the wreck was buried in the deep, and not an atom of her was ever after discoverable.

At length after the bitterest three hours which misery ever lengthened into ages, the day broke upon those who had escaped, and discovered all the horrors of their situation, completely ingulphed in the cavern and overhung by the cliff; nor did any part of the wreck remain to guide the early rising peasant to their dreadful spot. Several perished in attempting to gain the summit of the rock. The first men who gained this wished-for station, were the cook and James Thompson, a quarter-master; when they reached the land they hastened to the nearest house, which was the habitation of Mr. Garland, of Eastington, steward to the proprietors of the Purbeck quarries, who immediately collected the workmen under his direction, and with the most zealous and animated humanity, procured every possible assistance to the survivors: the greatest skill and perseverance were made use of to draw these men, by ropes, from the bottom of the rock to the top, which was about one hundred feet. The number of those who were saved amounted to seventy four, out of rather more than two hundred and forty, who sailed from the Downs.

This year (1786), is particularly marked by the death of the detestable Frederick, king of Prussia. Among an aggregate of bad qualities, Frederick was in the last degree implacable in his resentments, and inherited from nature and derived from education a disposition extremely harsh, despotic, and cruel. The austere military discipline which he established, reduced man to the state of a living machine. But the latter part of his life gave a new colour to his character, and cast a softening shade of benignity over all its parts. Convinced that mankind are more beholden for their subsistence to the produce of
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the earth than to sickly trades, he made agriculture his favourite object. When the iron hand of time pressed him with the infirmities and incommodities of age, it touched his sympathy for the unprovided in that calamitous condition; he therefore founded two hospitals in Berlin for the reception of helpless old age, in all cases whatever, without the narrow distinctions of nation or religion.

This extraordinary sovereign died on the 17th of August 1786, in the 75th year of his age. The attention of Europe had long been drawn to this expected event, and to its probable consequences. The character of his nephew and successor was not then much developed: He had a potent neighbour, well known to be of a character not much disposed to forgive or forget the loss of Silesia. The new government was, however, conducted with so much regularity and steadiness, that no encouragement was given for the apprehended danger to take place.

On the 20th of September in this year, a treaty of commerce was signed between the two courts of England and France, on the liberal principles of equality and reciprocity. Its general principle was to admit the mutual importation and exportation of the commodities of each country at a very low *ad valorem* duty. This treaty was carried on under the auspices of a new committee of council appointed by the king, for the consideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations; of which Charles Jenkinson was declared president.

About the same time, a convention was signed with Spain, of some importance, as it finally terminated the long subsisting disputes respecting the settlements of the English nation on the Musquito shore and the coast of Honduras. By the present treaty, the Musquito settlements were formally and explicitly relinquished, as they had already virtually been by the sixth article of the general treaty of 1783. In return, the boundaries of the English settlements on the coast and bay of Honduras were somewhat extended, but in such a manner, and on such conditions, as to leave the king of Spain in full possession of his territorial rights and exclusive dominion.

By this convention the Musquito settlers who had from time immemorial occupied their lands and habitation under the protection of the English government, and who amounted to many hundred families in number, were peremptorily commanded to evacuate the country of the Musquitos, without exception, in the space of eighteen months. This barbarous edict of expulsion produced the greatest consternation, confusion, and distress, among this unhappy people, at the distance of three thousand miles from the source of redress. They presented an humble and affecting petition to the British government, for some sort of indemnification for their loss; but it does not appear that it excited any attention.

Several interesting events took place about this time in the neighbouring kingdoms and states. France freely sacrificed, by the commercial treaty, her ancient civil and religious prejudices, which seemed so closely interwoven in her nature and constitution. She allowed the English residing in her dominions the most perfect freedom in religious matters; instead of being compellable to attend the public service or worship of the country, they were authorised in the full exercise of their own religious rites, only subjected to the reasonable condition of their being performed privately, and within their own houses.

The odious and inhuman practice, of refusing the rites of sepulchre to the bodies of supposed hereticks, was likewise done away. The legitimacy of the marriages of protestants was also admitted.

The affairs of Holland about this time were greatly interesting. There had for many years existed in that republic, a party inimical to the office of a stadtholder in general; and the late unfortunate war with England, and its ruinous consequences, excited the hatred of that party against the present stadtholder in particular. His known aversion to any particular connexion with France, and above all to the entering into any treaty with, or affording any support to the American colonies, then in a state of insurrection against the mother country, together with his near relation in blood to the British sovereign, and
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supposed predilection for his interests, served altogether, even from the beginning, to afford ample room for suspicion, that he could not heartily engage in a cause which went so directly against those opinions in which he had been educated.

As the charges brought against the stadtholder were mostly general, they could only admit of general answers. It was said that he had not exerted the force with which he was entrusted by the state in that manner, or with that energy, which might have been done, and which would have been most effectual for counteracting the designs and frustrating the efforts of the enemy; that the naval department had been shamefully neglected; its force, such as it was, misapplied or withheld; and that to these causes only was to be imputed the ruin of their foreign commerce, and the loss of their colonies. On these points the prince in vain repeatedly challenged his adversaries to the inquiry and proof; which as they evaded, gave reason to believe that they did not want to bring them to a decision, the event of which was uncertain, and which must overlay their designs, if it proved in his favour; that they only wished the scandal to lie, and the public clamour to increase or continue. He urged that the weak state and bad condition of their navy had rendered it totally incapable of performing the expected services; and that the blame on this subject did not rest with him, but with the states themselves, to whom he had frequently remonstrated on the inattention shown with respect to that department, and as frequently warned them of the necessity, as they were pursuing measures tending to a war, to be in due preparation for withstanding its consequences.

One specific object of inquiry was, indeed, brought early forward, and it was upon a subject which had made the deepest public impression, and excited the greatest clamour: This was upon the subject of the Dutch fleet's not proceeding to Brest, according to compact, in the year 1782, when the memorable scheme had been formed, that the whole combined naval force of the house of Bourbon and of Holland should have fallen at once upon the

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the coasts of Great Britain (at a time when her strength was dispersed in every quarter of the globe) and swept every thing before it. The failure had been loudly attributed to criminal neglect, if not to treachery, and a committee was speedily appointed to inquire into the causes. The extreme tediousness of the proceedings probably answered all the purposes that were originally intended, in keeping the public attention and expectation awake, the popular clamour alive, and giving a colour to all other charges and surmises.

Nothing could exceed the public disappointment, when the result of this slow inquisition was at length published. None of the great discoveries that had been so long expected were made; nor any thing whatever that tended to affect the stadtholder. Some errors and mismanagements in the conduct of their marine, particularly with regard to the mode of victualling their ships, and which had subsisted from time immemorial, were now for the first time detected; and some naval officers received blame for not obeying the orders of the states, and fulfilling the engagements with their allies, without regard to condition or circumstances.

Other concurring causes contributed, at this time, to render the party in question peculiarly powerful and numerous. The revolution in America, which seems to have given life to the seeds of liberty in countries where it was least to be expected, could not fail to revive and increase the republican spirit, in a country diversified in so many governments, and of such peculiar forms, as Holland. The numerous sect of the Mennonites, with the other numberless sectaries that abound so much in that country, being generally levellers upon principle, were of course adverse to any thing that bore the most distant resemblance to regal power, in whatever manner it might be bound or modified. These people, being the great money-dealers of the country, had, in the course of near a century of peace, acquired immense wealth, which tended to strengthen the characteristic of that order of men, extreme selfishness, and an equal deficiency of public spirit. Their wealth, however, necessarily

cessarily produced a very extensive degree of power and influence, the nobility being particularly enthralled to them, either through personal debts, or heavy mortgages on their estates.

The republican spirit being once revived among the sectaries, inspired them with all the enthusiasm of their founders and ancestors. Enthusiasts are the most troublesome as well as the most dangerous of all enemies; being unwearied in their attacks, implacable in their animosity, and their operations the more difficult to be foreseen and counteracted, as no rules of reason or experience reach to measure the conduct of those who act without regard to any. These people became accordingly the most bitter and implacable of the stadtholder's enemies: while each seemed individually to consider him rather as a private enemy, from whom he had received some inexpressible injury, than as a member of the state with whom he differed upon public principles.

The measure of placing arms in the hands of the burghers, and of encouraging them to incorporate in military communities, for which the contest with the emperor afforded a pretext, seems to have been adopted with very little consideration by the leaders of the faction, was pregnant with much difficulty and trouble to themselves, and tended in its extent to the overthrow of all their designs, and to the introduction of such innovations, both in the general and particular forms of government in that country, as they had little foreseen or intended.

When this rash and desperate measure of arming the multitude was adopted, it soon changed the face and nature of affairs, and produced effects as directly opposite to the wishes as to the intentions of those by whom it was framed. The people, finding arms in their hands, began at once to feel their own importance; they awakened, as it were, from a dead sleep, and began to wonder why they held no share in that government, which they were called upon to defend or support, and which it was evident could have no permanent security without them. The examples of Ireland and America were fresh before them; the very term of volunteers, which they assumed,

assumed, contributed to stamp the character of the part they were to act. The democratical spirit being thus suddenly, and for the first time, brought to life, and feeling as it were the possession of its faculties, displayed all the vigour, and perhaps even the wantonness of youth.

The armed burghers had been intended as a counterpoise to the army, which was known to be generally attached to the stadtholder; and it was fondly expected, that when they had performed the service, they would have silently sunk into their former insignificance. But when, without waiting for that issue, they began to hold themselves up as constituent members of the commonwealth, and demanded to be admitted to a share in the legislation and government of their respective cities, by electing delegates who were to be received as their legal representatives in the public assemblies, and thus form a popular counterpoise to the aristocratic power, nothing could exceed the surprise and consternation which they excited.

The aristocracies were aghast and confounded at pretensions, the possibility of which they had never even thought of; nor were the principal leaders of the faction less disconcerted and alarmed; they saw they had improvidently raised a dangerous spirit, and brought a new power into action, without a due consideration of the force and excentricity of its movements; and that these were evidently beyond their control or regulation. The situation was indeed critical and dangerous; for if they refused to comply with the demands of the armed burghers, it was to be feared that they would change sides directly, and go over to the Orange party, by which the stadtholder would have been rendered so triumphantly powerful, that all opposition must be at end: On the other hand, if the aristocracies granted their claims, they must be for ever cut off from all the sweets of authority, now grown habitual, and which, by the means of self-election, they hoped to have rendered as nearly immortal as human institutions are capable of being.

In this dilemma, various means were adopted in various places, and much chicanery practised, in order to stave off the evil hour, in the hope that some fortunate interrup-

tion might prevent the question from being brought to an absolute decision, or at least, that the pressure of the present state of affairs might be eased before it was brought to an issue; in which case, the powers of the law and of the state being combined against the new pretensions, the popular party would of necessity be obliged to submit. In some places, where the claims were too impetuously urged, and the aristocracy too stiff to give way, the latter applied to the states of the province for protection, who accordingly ordered the military force of the state to reduce the armed burghers, and to restore the ancient constitution. This extremity was, however, only proceeded to in a few places. In the city of Utrecht, where the armed burghers amounted to several thousands, the popular spirit was carried to its highest extreme of violence; they not only set the states of the province at defiance, but, taking the government of the city entirely into their own hands, and converting it into a place of arms, prepared for defence and open war, both against the provincial and general force of the state. In process of time, and after various tumults and struggles, the aristocracies were obliged in many places, particularly several towns of Holland, to give way to the prevailing necessity, and to submit in some degree to the claims of the popular party.

This was the only extension of public liberty which these dissensions hitherto produced; and this proceeded from circumstance, occasion, and final necessity, and not from any previous design or wish.

The states of Holland and West Friesland were the great and constant impugners of the stadtholder's authority and prerogatives. They assumed a superiority not admitted by the constitution of the union, and derived only from the circumstances of the first-mentioned province possessing a greater share of wealth, and a larger extent of territory, than any of the others; they paid but little regard or attention to the states general in the measures which they pursued, and the continual warfare, as it may be called, which they waged against him; acting upon these occasions rather as a supreme dictator,

than as an equal and co-regent with the other provinces. The most bitter animosity which appeared against that prince, seemed to be peculiarly lodged in the province of Holland; and the city of Amsterdam took the lead of all other places in the invariable display of that enmity. The pride and wealth of that city, with its paramount influence in its own province, had at all times frequently induced both to assume an odious pre-eminence over their fellows; and though this had been generally submitted to, yet when they have carried the spirit of domination to a certain degree of excess, it has occasionally excited such a resentment in other provinces, as more than once seemed to threaten a dissolution of the union. Their influence cannot, however, but continue great, from the causes we have mentioned.

The adverse faction had many and great advantages over their adversaries of the Orange party in this contest. They were closely united, by having had for several years one common object in view, to which all their measures were directed; while their antagonists, having no object to attain which might serve to unite their zeal, or excite their enterprise, were loose, careless, and unconnected. The adverse party had likewise the unspeakable advantage of being supported by the monied men; they were besides quickened by the ardour, and kept in constant exercise by the indefatigable zeal and restless spirit, always observable in sectaries. And though the measure of arming the volunteers, had been productive of much trouble and disorder among themselves, yet it afforded them at least the benefits of a formidable appearance, and of a menacing aspect.

It was necessary that the prince stadtholder should not be weak or unguarded, to withstand such a combination of adverse interests, parties, and circumstances. He was indeed strongly fortified on all sides. He was armed with great legal rights, authorities, and powers, of which he could not be deprived at less expense than a total rupture and nearly a subversion of the system and constitution of the republic; at the same time that, during the course of the contest, they would have abundantly afforded him

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the means of their own preservation and defence. In virtue of his offices of captain-general and admiral-general of the union, the whole military force of the republic by sea and land was in his possession. This sovereign authority was confirmed and rendered more effective, by his having the sole disposal of all military commissions, from those of the colonels to the ensigns inclusively; by the troops being bound in an oath of fidelity to him personally, as well as to the states; and by the whole army being obliged to obey his commands implicitly in all military cases. In the spirit of the same authority, he had the power of changing, lessening, or increasing garrisons, of directing all the movements of the troops, of assembling the army, or any part of it, and of ordering it to march at will. He held a similar authority in the naval department; and all these great powers were confirmed and rendered more effective, by the strong general attachment both of the fleet and army to his person and interests.

But his authority and legal powers were by no means confined to the fleet and army. By his office of stadtholder, he was placed as president at the head of most if not all of the civil departments of the state. He presided, either in person or by deputy, as he chose, in all the assemblies of the several respective provinces. He had a seat, though not a vote, in the assembly of the states general; and it was not merely a matter of right, but a part of his official duty, to be present at their deliberations, and to give his opinion or advice upon all matters of their deliberation, in which he deemed either necessary; and this had not only a great influence upon their proceedings, but in times of harmony, and under a vigorous and successful administration of public affairs, was generally decisive of their conduct. His right of nomination or rejection with respect to the new members appointed to fill up the town senates and magistracies was now contested, and generally overruled, but could not fail to have given him by its past operation a great influence in those distinct republics. In the quality of governor-general and supreme director of the East and West

West India companies, the stadtholder likewise had an unbounded influence in those great commercial bodies.

With these legal and official powers, he had a full moiety, at least, of the people at large either absolutely attached to his interests, or so far on his side, that from their averfeness to all violent innovations in the constitution and government, they were well disposed to the support of his authority. Even in the province of Holland, and in Amsterdam itself, the great seat and strong hold of his enemies, no calculator could determine on which side the majority would appear, if the matters in dispute were to be decided by a general poll. The same diversity of party and opinion everywhere appeared. Nor was there a much greater concurrence in the aristocracies themselves than among the people. Even in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and the greater cities of Holland, which were those most peculiarly adverse to the stadtholder, the domineering party could only build upon majorities, nothing like unanimity being anywhere to be obtained. In the smaller towns, the parties in the government were generally more nearly upon an equality. With respect to the provincial states, those of Guelderland and Utrecht were entirely on his side; those of the three other provinces fluctuating, and disposed to be mediatorial; so that those only of Holland and West Friesland were absolutely inimical to him. Yet, even in the assembly of the states of Holland, the grand question relative to the government of the Hague, after being long and violently agitated, was only carried against him by a single vote. The equestrian order, or nobles, which may in some degree be compared with what is called in England the *landed interest*, were, in the province of Holland, as everywhere else, generally on the prince's side. Their share in the government of that province is, however, but very small, as they hold only one voice in the assembly of the states, which consists of nineteen.

In such an estimate of the prince stadtholder's powers and resources, it should not be entirely overlooked, that he held in his own inherent right, as derived from his ancestors, very considerable estates and possessions, including

cluding cities, castles, palaces, lordships, and marquises, in various parts of the country, and that these, of old right, endued him with several important privileges and authorities, independent of his offices under the state. Nor should that great external resource be forgotten, which he possessed in the friendship and protection of the Prussian monarch; a connexion cemented by all the bands of policy, as well as by the ties of a near affinity: and which effectually shielded him from the apprehension of his adversaries being ever suffered to proceed beyond certain limited measures of violence against him.

The faction, however, found themselves so potent at home, and placed so unbounded a confidence in the support of France, which they now considered as the great palladium of the state, as well as of the party, that they paid less attention to the admonitions of the great Frederick, than a well-advised policy would at any time have admitted; and without even waiting for the absolute conclusion of the negotiations with the emperor at Paris, proceeded at once to show that they were no longer disposed to observe any measures of amity with the prince stadtholder, nor even to observe those outward appearances which might indicate a disposition to future conciliation. This was announced, by divesting him of the government and command of the garrison of the Hague; a measure not more violent in the act, than it was degrading in the execution, through the unusual circumstances with which it was accompanied.

The immediate and ostensible motive assigned for this measure, was a riot which had taken place at the Hague. The garrison were charged with not taking immediate and effectual measures for preventing or suppressing it. The riot in itself, compared with those which every day occurred in other places, was a matter of little consequence. A few armed volunteers from some neighbouring town came to parade at the Hague, equipped in their uniforms and peculiar badges, a proceeding which could not fail to irritate the inhabitants, who they knew were zealously attached to the person and interests of the prince of Orange. It was scarcely in the nature of things that
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a riot should not be the consequence; and the intruders were with some difficulty preserved from becoming victims to their own temerity, and to the fury of the people: they, however, escaped without any material injury.

This affair was resented with a violence disproportioned to its magnitude, and taken up with a high hand by the adverse faction. Independent of their desire to lessen the prince's authority, they likewise wished, and scarcely less, to subdue the spirit of the inhabitants of the Hague. The acting committee of the states of Holland, determining not to let the measure cool, issued (Sept. 8, 1785), a hasty resolution or decree, by which they deprived the prince of his government and command, forbidding the troops to receive the word from him, to obey his orders in any manner, or even to pay him any of the customary military honours. To render the degradation complete, and as it were to add the incurable sting of a personal insult, they at the same time stripped him of his own body-guards, and even of the hundred Swiss, who were destined merely to civil purposes, and to the support of state parade and magnificence. The prince's remonstrances and protestations, in which he termed this resolution a violent breach of the constitution, an invasion of his rights, an outrage offered to his authority, and an indignity to his person and character, could produce no other satisfaction, than the contemptuous intimation, that the guards were maintained for the purpose of supporting the grandeur of the state, and not for the aggrandisement of the stadtholder.

It was impossible that the prince and princess, after such a public indignity, could, with any degree of propriety, continue longer in a place, which was the seat of the court, of public business, and of government, as well as the residence of all the foreign ministers: They accordingly abandoned the Hague immediately; the prince retiring to his own city of Breda, and the princess with the children to West Friesland, where the people, notwithstanding the implacable enmity of the states of that province, were generally well affected to the Orange family. The prince and princess were obliged to perform these
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journies without any other guard or security to their persons than their own domestics, although it was a season of the most lawless violence and tumult, and when the virulence of the opposite party was risen to such a pitch, that on a late journey, though then attended by their guards, such a riot was raised in a considerable town which they passed, that some of their attendants were killed; and their happening to quit the carriage, and go into a house before it commenced, was perhaps fortunate with respect to their own safety.

This measure was soon followed by an order for furnishing the guards with new colours, in which the arms of the house Orange were totally omitted, and those of the province of Holland substituted in their place. These were presented in the name of the states, and a special order given to the officers, that the arms of the province, and no other, should be engraved on their gorgets.

The king of Prussia regarded this violent attack upon the authority, and personal insult offered to the stadtholder, with great but regulated indignation. He still preserved the most temperate language in his remonstrances; and while his expostulations placed in the fullest light the wrongs and undeserved injuries sustained by that prince, and sufficiently indicated that he was too much interested in his cause to permit his becoming ultimately a victim to oppression, yet, for the present, he appeared rather in the character of a friendly neighbour to both, and an amicable mediator, wishing to reconcile the differences and misunderstandings between the parties, than the direct advocate of either.

The ruling powers at the Hague, who represented the states of Holland and West Friesland, in their answer to the king's manifesto or memorial upon that subject, took care to lose no part of that high dignity appertaining to the most supreme sovereignty. In thanking him for the regards he expressed to, and the interest he took in the affairs of the republic, after taking care to remind him that those two provinces form the principal part of that constituent body, they proceed further to observe, that it was owing entirely to their particular respect for him,
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and to the mutual regards and friendship subsisting between them, that they could at all enter into any explanation of their conduct upon the present occasion; but that from these motives, and to convince the king that no duplicity was intended on their part, but that their views, like their conduct, were open, manly, and consistent (as it became sovereigns in all transactions with any of their servants, however highly exalted by posts or privileges they might be), they would inform him, that they could not in any manner recede from their resolutions with respect to the government of the Hague: that in other respects, in all cases of contest with foreign powers, they should at all times be desirous to accept the king's friendly intervention and mediation; but that in what related to internal government, to the security of the state, to public tranquillity, and particularly to the appointment, superintendence, or discharge of their own officers or servants, they could on no account derogate from their character of independent states, by admitting of any interference; and that he was himself too good a judge, and too strict a maintainer of the rights of sovereignty, to expect or to approve of such a derogation.

In other answers upon the same occasion, and about the same time, they disclaimed, in very loose and general terms, all oppressive and illegal acts or designs, either against the stadtholder, or any other of their servants; with the evidently implied reservation, of being themselves the sole judges of what constituted oppression or illegality. They attributed the king's applications to misinformation and misrepresentation, hoping (with an apparent sneer) that the stadtholder could not possibly have been so forgetful of the relation in which he stood with the republic, as to be the means of conveying them; and adding, that it would be placing all the parties in a strange relative situation indeed, if he were to make complaints of *them* to the king; a measure which in its consequences, if admitted, would tend to leave them nothing more than an empty name and very shadow of sovereignty. They spoke in the same general manner of

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civil commotions, of measures expedient for their own security, and of the necessity of putting an effectual stop to several abuses and encroachments which tended to the detriment of the country.

As a proof of the small regard which they paid to the king of Prussia's remonstrances, they issued an order on the 19th of December 1785, that the military honours usually paid to the stadtholder, in all his different capacities of captain general, governor of the Hague, and commander of the garrison, should in future be paid only to the president of their committee, as the representative of the states, and to the grand pensionary of Holland. This was, in some time, followed by an order to discharge all the troops in general of the province from their oath of fidelity to the stadtholder, and to prescribe a new oath, by which they were bound to the states only. All these innovations were submitted to by the troops in general, both officers and soldiers, with the greatest reluctance, and in numerous instances with apparent indignation. As the differences increased, the stadtholder's power of disposing of the regimental commissions was suspended for an unlimited time, and this essential branch of his prerogative usurped. The cause assigned, in answer to his remonstrances, for this measure, was not so much a justification of a right to assume, as a reason for the use of power, "that the influence which he derived from that authority in the army was not, in the present situation of affairs, deemed consonant with the security of the state."

The domineering party no longer contained themselves within any sort of bounds; they laid the heaviest hand of power over all those who gave marks of attachment to the stadtholder's interest. The virulence and malice of the contention was so great, that tumults were almost continual; and while the rioters on one side were severely punished, even for petty excesses, those on the other were protected in the grossest violence and outrage. They proceeded without restraint, and without regard to general law, or particular constitutions, to weed the magistracies of all those who were even suspect-

ed of any attachment to the Orange interest, filling up their places with the most turbulent of their own party; and even submitted to the democratic encroachments of the armed burghers, and thereby totally changed the nature of the old constitution, in order to carry that favourite point. They had taken the press entirely into their hands: While the most scurrilous invectives were every day published, not only with impunity, but apparent encouragement against the stadtholder, the most temperate writings in defence of his rights, or bare statement of their nature, subjected the publishers and the writers to severe and certain punishment.

Although the republican party carried their constitutional innovations, and the violation of corporate and private rights with little comparative resistance, the course of their affairs was not entirely smooth. Man is so indefinable a being, that he frequently engages, in contempt of all dangers and hazards, in the defence of trifles, at the same time that he gives up objects of the greatest moment to his security and happiness, and submits to oppressions that embitter his existence, with scarcely a murmur. In the present instance, the wearing and prohibiting of orange-coloured cockades and ribbons seemed for a time to be the great object of contest and animosity between the rival factions. Even the military, both officers and private men, notwithstanding their habits of implicit submission, became eager parties in this contest; and, in defiance of proclamations and punishments, were continually flying in the face of their employers and paymasters, by wearing of this interdicted colour; so that it seemed for a time doubtful, whether the very harsh exercise of very strong powers of government could have suppressed the display of this ensign of party zeal, without striking directly at the existence of the manufacture.

The prince stadtholder and his family, after sojourning for some considerable time at Middleburgh in Zeeland, when he found that the faction in Holland were proceeding to the utmost extremities against him, and that it became every day more apparent, that nothing
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less than an appeal to the last resort of princes could preserve those remains of his authority which were still left, had he even submitted to the loss already sustained, removed at length to the province of Guelderland. This was the most judicious measure that he could possibly have taken; for, besides that the states of that province, as well as of its neighbour Utrecht, were entirely on his side, and the little country of Over-Yssel, from its situation, entirely within his power whenever he found exertion absolutely necessary, he was likewise within such a distance of the turbulent city of Utrecht, as at least to protect the states of that province, whom they had already obliged to retire to Amersfort, from any obstruction or disturbance in their proceedings at that place. These were, however, but secondary objects, when compared with the great advantages which that situation would afford, if matters were brought to a certain degree of extremity, through the nearness of the Prussian territories, which inclosed Gueldres on two sides, with limits so mixed and open, that the intercourse could not be interrupted.

Obvious as these advantages were, they seemed to escape the observation of the adverse faction in Holland, until they began to be perceived in their consequences. The prince still retained the command of the forces of five provinces, which were about equal in strength to those of Holland; so that, from his retreat to Guelderland, he lay no longer at the mercy of his enemies. From the attachment of the troops to him, it was doubtful how far they might obey even the orders of their respective states, in withdrawing from his command, if such a scene of disorder was once opened as might afford a colour for discretionary conduct, or hold out a sanction to disobedience.

We are now, however, to look to several matters that preceded and led to this last resource which the prince adopted, of retiring with a military force to his strong hold in Guelderland. Great expectations had been formed on both sides, from the assemblage of the states of Holland and West Friezeland, which was to

take place at the Hague in the middle of March. Although the stadtholder had no vote in that assembly, it would have been his duty to have attended, in order to give his advice, and to lay such proposals and matters relative to public affairs as he thought fitting, before them for regular discussion, had not the late affronts which he received put it out of his power to return to that place, until he was restored to his former dignities and authority. The states themselves seemed to entertain no small apprehension of the tumults which might take place upon that occasion, from the great and general attachment of the inhabitants to the prince, and the strong sensations of grief and indignation, which the novelty and cause of his absence, with the public display of his degradation, were likely to produce.

To obviate these disagreeable effects, after a day of public prayer and fasting had been supposed to diffuse a serious disposition among the people, they issued a proclamation a few days previous to the meeting, strictly forbidding, under the severest penalties, all the usual popular marks of rejoicing, upon any public days or occasions whatever, particularly prohibiting the hoisting of flags upon steeples or other places, and the selling or wearing of any badges of distinction, especially of orange-coloured cockades and ribbands; which being a colour, they observe, not sanctioned by authority, could only be worn from the spirit of party; the delinquents, whether sellers or wearers, being subjected to the heavy arbitrary penalties of imprisonment, corporal punishment, and even death, to be discretionally inflicted: Encouragement was held out to the most odious of men, informers; and in a degrading, arbitrary, and probably injudicious exertion of power, it was declared that those who did not inform should be found equally guilty for the misprision, and punished as principals.

The states at their first meeting (March 15) disappointed the public, when a prodigious crowd was already assembled, by an adjournment to the following day. On that morning, to fix an idea of the majesty
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of their sovereign assembly, as well as to awe the people, the garrison were drawn out armed, and arrayed in their best uniforms, opposite the hall of the states. A crowd of three or four thousand people showed such strong marks of dissatisfaction and disposition to tumult, that the fixed bayonets, and firm conduct and countenance of the soldiers were absolutely necessary to keep them in order. But a new and very peculiar source of discord remained still to be opened. A gate, which derived its name from the stadtholder's office, and the particular use it was assigned to, possessed the singular privilege (at least in modern times) of never being opened, excepting when that first magistrate of the state was to pass through it upon public occasions, such as the present. The president of the assembly, to show the fullness of power, and to prepare the people for submission and acquiescence in all other novelties, ordered this interdicted gate to be opened, and a detachment of grenadiers were assigned to the important service. This invidious measure was beheld with the highest indignation by the people; but the terror of the soldiers weapons, together with the satisfaction of seeing that no attempt was made to pass through the gate (the prevention of which was now made the point of honour, when the first was given up) served to prevent their proceeding to any actual violence.

The burghers of the Orange party, considering this first invasion of privilege as the prelude to farther outrage, held a meeting in the night, when, after deep debate, it was determined to preserve, at all events and hazards, the purity of their favourite gate from the least degree of violation. On the third morning the stadtholder's gate was again opened, and matters were conducted with a reasonable degree of tranquillity through the day; but upon the breaking up of the states in the evening, the pensionary of Dort, whether through vanity, to show his contempt of the stadtholder, or to try the temper of the people, while the means of their chastisement were at hand, ordered his coach to be driven through the gate. This was the signal of alarm, the

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people immediately interfered, both in preventing the design, and in endeavouring to discharge their fury upon the adventurous pensionary; the riot was violent, and those who were not engaged shuddered for the consequences, nothing less than a general massacre of the unarmed populace being expected. In this instant of terror and danger, the horse guards rushed in with the utmost violence upon the crowd, flourishing their swords with terrible threats, and the most dreadful parade of execution. In little more than a moment the tumultuous crowd were either overthrown by the horses, and lying in heaps upon each other, or dispersed and flying on every side. Never was so violent a tumult so suddenly quelled, and with so little mischief. Not a single man was killed, nor a single wound given with the sword; the horses were the only combatants, and left many sore remembrances of their weight, and of the iron armour on their hoofs. It was no less remarkable that only a single prisoner was made, where all lay at the mercy of the victors. This unfortunate culprit was a sober tradesman, the master of a house and family: He had been so active in the commencement of the riot as to be particularly conspicuous, which occasioned his being early secured; and every body was in expectation of his being hanged, as an example, the following morning.

The conduct of the troops upon this occasion can never be too much praised or admired, and should be received and adopted as a most excellent model in all cases of suppressing civil commotions. Had the infantry, who were quiet lookers-on, undertaken to quell this riot, the slaughter, from the narrowness of the place, the closeness of the crowd, and the nature of their weapons, would have been immense; and when broken and intermixed with the populace (which would have been unavoidable) the conflict must have been attended with loss to themselves. Nor would the destruction have been small to the people, if the cavalry had made that cruel use of their swords which was so entirely in their power, and of which they made so effective

effective and happy a display. Whatever share may be ascribed to discipline in this excellent conduct, no doubt can be entertained but that a much greater was due to the private sentiments and disposition of the troops.

This riot, together with the general ill temper of the people, put a stop for some time to the deliberations of the states of Holland. So many intercessions were made for the life of the unfortunate peruke-maker who had been taken up in the late tumult, that the sentence of death on him was changed to an order of imprisonment for twenty years.

In the mean time, the dissensions in the city of Utrecht became so violent, that the ruling faction issued the singularly arbitrary decree, that not more than two persons should, under any pretence, and under severe penalties, stop to confer in the streets. They were not only in a state of hostility with their fellow-citizens, and the states of the province, but they flew in the face of their own immediate delegates, who declared, that in consideration of their oaths, and a full knowledge that the dignities conferred on the stadtholder in 1749 had been granted by the unanimous voice of all the regents of that time, as the only means of preserving the nation, they could not in any manner concur in depriving him of them; although, if any new regulation should, with his own consent, and with the same unanimity be adopted, they should by no means oppose such a reform, but act in concert with the states in general. This moderation in their delegates could produce no corresponding effect in the constituents, who, determined to support their violence by arms, hired soldiers, and procured officers from all parts, and at any expense, making every possible preparation at the same time to withstand a siege vigorously if attacked, as they continually expected.

If the subscriptions to the patriotic funds (which were to support the numberless petty armaments of this time) were really as large as represented, it would indeed be astonishing, considering the heavy losses which individuals

as well as the republic had sustained by the war with England, and the subsequent prodigious expenses and damage occasioned by the contest with the emperor, first in the preparations for war and the overflowing of the country, and lastly in the purchase of peace, and the reparation which they were compelled to make to his subjects for their damages. It was said, that subscriptions from individuals of eight or ten thousand florins were common upon this occasion ; and that so large a sum as 100,000 (amounting to something between seven and eight thousand pounds) had been sent without a name ; but this last was probably no more than a lure, to excite a similar liberality from such an example.

In the mean time the republic was torn to pieces and convulsed in all its parts and members. Nothing could be more deplorable than the face of tumult, riot, and confusion which every where prevailed. Many of the towns presented little less than a scene of continual civil war. The multitude of ill-connected petty sovereignties, of which the republic is composed, afforded room for a general, as well as for particular degrees of anarchy, which could not perhaps have been equalled under any other form of government. Nor has it possibly been known in any civil contention, in which religion was not the object of the contest, that the animosity and malice of the contending factions were carried to so extreme an excess as in the present. Their riots were accordingly, and perhaps it may be said according to the peculiar genius and temper of the people, fierce, cruel, and bloody. Multitudes of people were said to have been sacrificed, without count or inquiry, in these tumults, while the canals served commodiously for the instant in hiding the effects of their mutual enormity.

The debates in the assembly of the states of Holland, upon the subject of restoring the stadtholder to his dignity, or at least to the government of the Hague, were conducted with a degree of heat and vehemence said to be unequalled in the Dutch councils. Every method was accordingly used, that the nature of such proceedings will admit, in order to conceal the particulars of what passed

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in that assembly from the knowledge of the people. The count de Maillebois, who was supposed to be the secret mover of most, if not all, of the harsh measures adopted against the stadtholder, was now become so extremely odious, at least with one party, that he was very generally burnt in effigy in those places where they were prevalent.

After various debates upon the subject, the grand question, with respect to the command at the Hague, was carried (July 27th) against the prince of Orange, in the assembly of the states in Holland, by a single vote, the numbers being ten to nine. A protest was immediately entered by the equestrian order, as well as by the deputies or representatives of some towns, against this resolution, as being premature and violent, as well as unconstitutional and illegal.

The death of the late king of Prussia, and the accession of the present monarch, to whose sister the stadtholder is married, could not be supposed to weaken his interest at the court of Berlin. The new king indeed did not leave it long in doubt what part he was determined to take in favour of his brother-in-law: For he scarcely had time to feel himself well in the throne, before he despatched (September 2d) a long letter, fully declaratory of his sentiments, to the states general; and, to give the greater weight to them, it was conveyed by no less a person than the count de Goertz, his minister of state, in the character of envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary.

In this nervous and spirited letter he refrains from entering into any particular detail of the injuries offered to the stadtholder, referring them for that, as well as for his own sentiments upon the subject, to certain specified letters or memorials transmitted by his uncle and predecessor, both to their high mightinesses, and to the states of Holland and West Friezeland; every part of which he now, for himself, renews and confirms. He takes care to remove every objection to his interference, as being unwarranted, intrusive, or dictatorial to a sovereign state, by showing that the long and tried friendship which had for two centuries subsisted between his predecessors and the

the republic, would even have demanded his friendly and mediatorial interposition in the present unhappy and dangerous state of their civil dissensions : That, exclusive of friendship, his situation as their nearest neighbour, and the vicinity of a part of his dominions to their territories, must necessarily prevent his being indifferent to any violent or essential change that was attempted to be made in the constitution of the republic : But that, independent of these causes, the near relation in which he stood with the prince stadtholder, and the affection which he bore for the princess his sister, rendered it impossible that he could be unconcerned in seeing them degraded from their high rank and dignities, and the stadtholder arbitrarily deprived of his rights and prerogatives.

He therefore strongly but amicably pressed the states general to use their powerful mediation in the most serious manner with the states of Holland and West Friesland, for settling the present differences ; and to take such other measures as might appear necessary for healing the dangerous dissensions so glaringly prevalent, for restoring the prince to his rights, and enabling him to return with honour and propriety to the resumption of his high offices at the Hague : Offering his own counsel and mediation, if it were necessary, in conjunction with other friends and neighbours of the republic, to bring all remaining differences and matters of debate to an equitable, final, and happy termination, and in a manner that would be equally consonant to the honour and true interests of all the parties. He farther informed the states, that they were to receive and consider all communications from the count de Goertz as coming directly from himself.

This early display of the new king's character seemed to afford no small indication, that though the great Frederick was no more, the spirit and vigour of his councils were by no means departed.

The states of five of the provinces referred the consideration of the king of Prussia's letter to the committee for foreign affairs ; but those of Holland and West Friesland, persevering in their system, and bating nothing of their usual obstinacy, declaring their adherence to the resolution

resolution of the preceding December, against the admission of any foreign interference in the regulation of their domestic affairs, would pay no attention whatever to the letter.

The court of Versailles, conscious of having the game so effectually in her own hands as to render all public intervention in the affairs of Holland, on her side, totally unnecessary, could have no disposition to admit the interference of other powers, whose views and principles she knew to be diametrically opposite to her own. She had accordingly presented to the states, some considerable time before, as a guarded precaution against what was like to happen, a memorial couched in very equivocal terms, in which, after much parade of the French king's friendship and regards, and of his attachment to the subsisting alliance between them, he declares his wishes to see those abuses reformed, which had occasioned internal dissensions in the republic, and that he should be happy to see tranquillity restored upon the true principles of its constitution; but that, without pretending to meddle in the internal government of the seven provinces, he would on the contrary use his utmost endeavours to prevent their high mightinesses being troubled from without as well as from within.

The republican party was now become so insolent, and their violence so extreme, that they seemed not only to cast off all obedience to their own laws, but all regard to those of nations, and all respect to foreign sovereigns. A courier from the court of Berlin to that of London, upon his return was stopped, and narrowly escaped being rummaged, and his despatches examined, by the populace in the town of Woerden. This outrage obliged the count de Goertz formally to demand a passport, from the states general, for a courier he was sending with despatches to the king his master.

The states of Guelderland, after various strong remonstrances, couched in terms of great indignation to those of Holland, for the encouragement which they had given, and they support the promised, to the refractory or rebellious burghers in their towns of Hattem and Elbourg, declaring

declaring that such an undue interference in their government, and outrage offered to their sovereignty, must, if persevered in or repeated, lead to an immediate dissolution of the union, determined at length to remove this bone of internal and external contention, by applying force as the last remedy for the eradication of the evil.

They accordingly passed a written resolution, tantamount in effect to a commission, charging the prince stadtholder, as captain general, immediately to send a sufficient number of troops, under the conduct of an experienced officer, to these towns, with injunctions to continue there until further orders ; but that if the inhabitants were to make any resistance to the performance of this service, such officer was authorised, in spite of all obstacles, to support the sovereign authority of their noble mightinesses, by proceeding to force and violence in the establishment of those garrisons.

The states likewise wrote to the magistracies of both towns (who were equally disobeyed and slighted with themselves by the turbulent burghers) inclosing a copy of their resolution, and requiring them to give every assistance in their power to the troops ; and particularly to exhort the inhabitants to the most docile submission to all injunctions that might come from their assembly.

General Spengler, with four regiments, and proper artillery, was appointed by the stadtholder to this service, with strict injunctions, if possible, to avoid the shedding of blood. The armed burghers of Hattem, being reinforced by as many volunteers as money or party zeal could procure from different quarters, exhibited a great parade of making a most obstinate resistance. Their cannon were mounted on the walls and works, and on the approach of the stadtholder's little army, as they called the regular forces by way of contempt, fired several rounds of artillery with great briskness, but with so little judgment in the direction, as not to produce the smallest effect. As soon as Spengler arrived within a proper distance, he pointed his artillery, in order to do the least possible mischief, at the chimnies and tops of the houses only. This, however, along with the bold advance and near approach

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of the troops, soon produced the desired effect ; the armed burghers, with their adherents and auxiliaries, abandoned the town ; and Spengler's men entered at one gate, as they were retiring through another. Elbourg was abandoned in the same manner, and with still less trouble.

To the disappointment and mortification, however, of all lovers of the marvellous, as well as to the great vexation of the faction themselves, general Spengler's detail to his masters, the states, of the operations of the troops under his command, was soon published, by which it appeared that not a single man had been killed or wounded on either side in the boasted action of Hattem ; and that the discipline of the troops had been so exact, and their conduct so laudable, that there was not a single complainant from either town to appear against them.

In the mean time the self-exiled burghers of those two towns, with their armed confederates, suddenly changing their late boasting into lamentation, and notwithstanding that the states of Guelderland had published an amnesty in favour of all who would return to their houses within a limited time, filled all places with their clamours, on the woful detail of their losses and sufferings ; the effect of their complaints being the more quickened by the heavy burthen which they proved to their friends, in the various towns where they took refuge.

The taking of these two towns was considered or represented by the adverse faction, not only as the signal, but the actual commencement of civil war ; and nothing was to be heard but execrations, as well against the states of Gueldres, as the prince stadtholder. In the province of Holland especially, the flames seemed to be blown up nearly to the greatest height at which they were capable of arriving. All regard to forms was now laid aside, in completing the deposition by force of those magistrates, senators, and members of the respective town councils, who were known or suspected to be of the opposite party.

The states of Holland, without regard to the mission and presence of the count de Goertz, immediately (September 22d) suspended, for an indefinite time, the prince stadtholder.

holder from all the functions appertaining to his office of captain general within their province; and discharged the troops from that part of their military oath which bound them to obey his orders. At the same time they recalled their regiments from Maastricht, and other garrisons without the province, and ordered a strong line of troops to be formed along the inland frontier towards Utrecht and Guelderland, and magazines to be provided for their subsistence during the winter; general Van Ryssel, their commander, being likewise ordered to be in constant force and readiness for succouring and protecting the city of Utrecht, if any attempt should be made upon it, under the orders of the states of that province, who were assembled at Amersfort. Such was the deplorable state of affairs in this once great and flourishing republic, towards the close of the year 1786.

If we turn to the public affairs of Russia, it will be found that she had been engaged in an irregular and destructive war with the Tartar nations inhabiting the regions of Caucasus and the Caspian sea, ever since the violent seizure she made of the Crimea. In the year 1785, the forces of the empress claimed a victory, which was in some degree authenticated by the capture of a Tartar chan, two of his sons, and a nephew, who were all brought prisoners to Petersburg. In the latter end of the same year, the pretended prophet Sheich Mansour, and his adherents, disappointed of the succour which he had taught them to expect from heaven, suffered a total defeat, and were firmly convinced that their fanaticism was no proof against the Russian bayonets. The prophet fought boldly on foot, at the head of seven or eight thousand of his followers, when he received a wound, but had the fortune to escape.

In the beginning of the year 1786, the empress had publicly announced her intention of making a magnificent progress to Cherson and the Crimea, in order to her being crowned sovereign of the new conquests. This design was at first conceived in the most splendid ideas of eastern magnificence and grandeur. It was given out that Catharine was to be crowned empress of Taurida, and
to

to be declared protectress of all the nation of Tartars. The grandeur of the design was such, as to leave it possible to be supposed, that the return of Alexander, from India, and the voyage on the Cydus were not forgotten, in the superb preparations for this intended journey.

The iron minded Tartars, however, when they learned the object of this grand progress, far from being either dazzled or terrified, regarded it as a signal of general and immediate danger, which required the strongest union, the greatest exertion, and the most determined resistance. They defeated the Russians on the side of Caucasus, and convinced them of the necessity of narrowing the design of their sovereign's intended journey. The procession did not take place till the following year; and the only end obtained, saving the conferences held with the king of Poland and the emperor, seemed to be nothing more than the empress's showing herself to her new subjects, and appearing to take some sort of formal possession of Cherson and the Crimea.

About this time, the Ottoman court was greatly troubled by the rebellion which raged in a considerable part of its territory. Egypt, the great granary of the empire, and the unfailing resource of its armies for provision, had long been in the most deplorable state. The country was torn to pieces, and desolated by the endless contention among the rebel beys, among whom Murat Bey had lately gained so complete a supremacy, that he was become in a great measure, the absolute despot of that kingdom. The Porte fitted out with great secrecy and expedition, a fleet with troops on board under the grand admiral, who proceeded directly for the Nile, and landed his forces at Rosetta, whither an army hastily collected was sent by the usurper to attack him; but the enemy was totally routed and dispersed, and a great carnage made of them.

The victor, pursuing his blow, advanced towards grand Cairo, where Murat Bey, with his associate Ibrahim, at the head of a great army composed of the bravest Mamalucks, and the best troops of Egypt, were

waiting to receive him. A battle took place in the approaches to that city, on the side of the suburb of Boulah. The captain pacha led the way to victory. A prodigious slaughter was made, and every thing belonging to the enemy's camp, became a spoil. Grand Cairo was the immediate prize of the conquerers; Murat and Ibrahim Bey, had the fortune, through the excellency of their Arabian horses, to escape to Upper Egypt.

NOTES
TO THE
FOURTH VOLUME.

NOTE [A] Page 4.

*The definitive Treaty of Peace and Friendship, between
his Britannic Majesty and the United States of Ame-
rica, signed at Paris the 3d Day of September, 1783.*

In the Name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity.

IT having pleased the divine Providence to dispose the
hearts of the most serene and most potent prince George
the Third, by the grace of **God**, king of Great Britain,
France and Ireland, defender of the faith, duke of
Brunswick and Lunenburgh, arch-treasurer and prince
elector of the holy Roman empire, &c. and of the United
States of America, to forget all past misunderstandings
and differences that have unhappily interrupted the good
correspondence and friendship which they mutually wish
to restore, and to establish such a beneficial and satisfac-
tory intercourse between the two countries upon the
ground of reciprocal advantages and mutual convenience
as may promote and secure to both perpetual peace and
harmony; and having for this desirable end already laid
the foundation of peace and reconciliation by the provi-
sional articles signed at Paris on the 30th of November,
1782, by the commissioners empowered on each part,
which articles were agreed to be inserted in and to con-

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stitute

stitute the treaty of peace proposed to be concluded between the crown of Great Britain and the said United States, but which treaty was not to be concluded until terms of peace should be agreed upon between Great Britain and France, and his Britannic majesty should be ready to conclude such treaty accordingly; and the treaty between Great Britain and France having since been concluded, his Britannic majesty and the United States of America, in order to carry into full effect the provisional articles abovementioned, according to the tenour thereof, have constituted and appointed, that is to say, his Britannic majesty on his part, David Hartley, esq. member of the parliament of Great Britain; and the said United States on their part, John Adams, esq. late a commissioner of the United States of America at the court of Versailles, late delegate in congress from the state of Massachusetts, and chief justice of the said state, and minister plenipotentiary of the said United States to their high mightinesses the States General of the United Netherlands; Benjamin Franklin, esq. late delegate in congress from the the state of Pennsylvania, president of the convention of the said state, and minister plenipotentiary from the United States of America at the court of Versailles; and John Jay, esq. late president of congress, and chief justice of the state of New York, and minister plenipotentiary from the said United States at the court of Madrid; to be the plenipotentiaries for the concluding and signing the present definitive treaty; who, after having reciprocally communicated their respective full powers, have agreed upon and confirmed the following articles:

Art. I. His Britannic majesty acknowledges the said United States, viz. New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, to be free, sovereign, and independent states; that he treats with them as such, and for himself, his heirs, and successors, relinquishes all claims to the government,

vernment, propriety and territorial rights of the same, and every part thereof.

II. And that all disputes which might arise in future on the subject of the boundaries of the said United States may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared, that the following are and shall be their boundaries, viz. From the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, viz. that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of St. Croix river to the highlands, along the said highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Laurence, from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean, to the north-westernmost head of Connecticut river; thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; from thence by a line due west on said latitude, until it strikes the river Irroquois or Caatracquy; thence along the middle of said river into lake Ontario; through the middle of said lake until it strikes the communication by water between that lake and lake Erie; thence along the middle of the said communication into lake Erie, through the middle of said lake, until it arrives at the water communication between that lake and lake Huron; thence through the middle of said lake to the water communication between that lake and lake Superior; thence through lake Superior northward of the Isles Royal and Philapeaux to the Long lake; thence through the middle of said Long lake and the water communication between it and the lake of the Woods, to the said lake of the Woods; thence through the said lake to the most north-westernmost point thereof, and from thence on a due west course to the river Mississippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said river Mississippi until it shall intersect the northernmost part of the thirty-first degree of north-latitude. South, by a line to be drawn due east from the determination of the line last mentioned in the latitude of thirty-one degrees north of the equator, to the middle of the river Apalachiola or Catahouche; thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint river; thence straight to the head of St. Mary's river, and thence down along the middle of

St. Mary's river to the Atlantic ocean. East by a line, to be drawn along the middle of the river St. Croix from its mouth in the bay of Fundy to its source, and from its source directly north to the aforesaid highlands which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic ocean from those which fall into the river St. Laurence, comprehending all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid boundaries between Nova Scotia on the one part, and East Florida on the other, shall respectively touch the bay of Fundy and the Atlantic ocean, excepting such islands as now are or heretofore have been within the limits of the said province of Nova Scotia.

III. It is agreed that the people of the United States shall continue to enjoy unmolested the right to take fish of every kind on the Great Bank, and on all the other banks of Newfoundland; also in the gulf of St. Laurence, and at all other places in the sea where the inhabitants of both countries used at any time heretofore to fish. And also that the inhabitants of the United States shall have liberty to take fish of every kind on such part of the coast of Newfoundland as British fishermen shall use (but not to dry or cure the same on that island), and also on the coasts, bays, and creeks, of all other of his Britannic majesty's dominions in America; and that the American fishermen shall have liberty to dry and cure fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbours, and creeks of Nova Scotia, Magdalen islands, and Labrador, so long as the same shall remain unsettled; but so soon as the same or either of them shall be settled, it shall not be lawful for the said fishermen to dry or cure fish at such settlement, without a previous agreement for that purpose with the inhabitants, proprietors, or possessors of the ground.

IV. It is agreed that the creditors on either side shall meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value in sterling money of all *bona fide* debts heretofore contracted.

V. It

V. It is agreed that congress shall earnestly recommend it to the legislatures of the respective states, to provide for the restitution of all estates, rights, and properties, which have been confiscated, belonging to real British subjects; and also of the estates, rights, and properties, of persons resident in districts in the possession of his majesty's arms, and who have not borne arms against the said United States; and that persons of any other description shall have free liberty to go to any part or parts of any of the thirteen United States, and therein to remain twelve months unmolested in their endeavours to obtain the restitution of such of their estates, rights, and properties, as may have been confiscated; and that congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several states a reconsideration and revision of all acts or laws regarding the premises, so as to render the said laws or acts perfectly consistent not only with justice and equity, but with that spirit of conciliation which on the return of the blessings of peace should universally prevail: and that congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several states, that the estates, rights, and properties, of such last mentioned persons, shall be restored to them, they refunding to any persons who may be now in possession of the *bona fide* price (where any has been given), which such persons may have paid on purchasing any of the said lands, rights, or properties, since the confiscation.

And it is agreed that all persons who have any interest in confiscated lands, either by debts, marriage settlements, or otherwise, shall meet with no lawful impediment in the prosecution of their just rights.

VI. That there shall be no future confiscations made, nor any prosecutions commenced against any person or persons for or by reason of the part which he or they may have taken in the present war; and that no person shall on that account suffer any future loss or damage either in his person, liberty, or property, and that those who may be in confinement on such charges at the time of the ratification of the treaty in America, shall be immediately set

set at liberty, and the prosecutions so commenced be discontinued.

VII. There shall be a firm and perpetual peace between his Britannic majesty and the said United States, and between the subjects of the one and the citizens of the other; wherefore all hostilities both by sea and land shall from henceforth cease; all prisoners on both sides shall be set at liberty, and his Britannic majesty shall, with all convenient speed, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any negroes or other property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garrisons, and fleets, from the said United States, and from every post, place, and harbour, within the same; leaving in all fortifications the American artillery that may be therein; and shall also order and cause all archives, records, deeds, and papers belonging to any of the said states, or their citizens, which in the course of the war may have fallen into the hands of his officers, to be forthwith restored and delivered to the proper states and persons to whom they belong.

VIII. The navigation of the river Mississippi, from its source to the ocean, shall for ever remain free and open to the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States.

IX. In case it should so happen that any place or territory belonging to Great Britain, or to the United States, should have been conquered by the arms of either from the other, before the arrival of the said provisional articles in America, it is agreed that the same shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring any compensation.

X. The solemn ratifications of the present treaty, expedited in good and due form, shall be exchanged between the contracting parties in the space of six months, or sooner, if possible, to be computed for the day of the signature of the present treaty.

In witness whereof we the undersigned, ministers plenipotentiary, have in their name, and in virtue of our full powers, signed with our hands the present definitive treaty,

treaty, and caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Paris, this third day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-tree.

David Hartley	(L. S.)
John Adams.	(L. S.)
B. Franklin.	(L. S.)
John Jay.	(L. S.)

The Definitive Treaty of Peace and Friendship, between his Britannic Majesty, and the Most Christian King. Signed at Versailles, the 3d of September, 1783.—As published by Authority.

In the name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. So be it.

BE it known to all those, whom it shall or may concern. The most serene and most potent prince George the Third, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg, arch-treasurer and elector of the holy Roman empire, &c. and the most serene and most potent prince Lewis the Sixteenth, by the grace of God, most Christian king, being equally desirous to put an end to the war, which for several years past afflicted their respective dominions, accepted the offer which their majesties the emperor of the Romans, and the empress of all the Russias, made to them, of their interposition, and of their mediation: But their Britannic and most Christian majesties, animated with a mutual desire of accelerating the re-establishment of peace, communicated to each other their laudable intention; which Heaven so far blessed, that they proceeded to lay the foundations of peace, by signing preliminary articles at Versailles, the 20th of January in the present year. Their said majesties the king of Great Britain and the most Christian king, thinking it incumbent upon them to give their Imperial majesties a signal proof of gratitude for the generous offer of their mediation, invited them, in concert, to concur in the completion

completion of the great and salutary work of peace, by taking part, as mediators, in the definitive treaty to be concluded between their Britannic and most Christian majesties. Their said Imperial majesties having readily accepted that invitation, they have named, as their representatives, viz. his majesty the emperor of the Romans, the most illustrious and most excellent lord Florimond, Count Mercy-Argenteau, viscount of Loo, baron of Crichegnée, knight of the golden Fleece, chamberlain, actual privy counsellor of state to his Imperial and royal apostolic majesty, and his ambassador to his most Christian majesty; and her majesty the empress of all the Russias, the most illustrious and most excellent lord, prince Iwan Bariatinskoy, lieutenant-general of the forces of her Imperial majesty of all the Russias, knight of the order of St. Anne, and of the Swedish Sword, and her minister plenipotentiary to his most Christian majesty; and the lord Arcadi de Marcoff, counsellor of state to her Imperial majesty of all the Russias, and her minister plenipotentiary to his most Christian majesty. In consequence, their said majesties, the king of Great Britain and the most Christian king, have named and constituted for their plenipotentiaries, charged with the concluding and signing of the definitive treaty of peace, viz. the king of Great Britain, the most illustrious and most excellent lord George, duke and earl of Manchester, viscount Mandeville, baron of Kimbolton, lord lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county of Huntingdon, actual privy counsellor to his Britannic majesty, and his ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his most Christian majesty; and the most Christian king, the most illustrious and most excellent lord Charles Gravier, count de Vergennes, baron of Welferding, &c. the king's counsellor in all his councils, commander in his orders, president of the royal council of finances, counsellor of state military, minister and secretary of state, and of his commands and finances: who, after having exchanged their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. I.

Art. I. There shall be a Christian, universal, and perpetual peace, as well by sea as by land, and a sincere and constant friendship shall be re-established between their Britannic and most Christian majesties, and between their heirs and successors, kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, subjects and vassals, of what quality or condition soever they be, without exception either of places or persons; so that the high contracting parties shall give the greatest attention to the maintaining between themselves, and their said dominions and subjects, this reciprocal friendship and intercourse, without permitting hereafter, on either part, any kind of hostilities to be committed, either by sea or by land, for any cause, or under any pretence whatsoever: And they shall carefully avoid, for the future, every thing which might prejudice the union happily re-established, endeavouring on the contrary, to procure reciprocally for each other, on every occasion, whatever may contribute to their mutual glory, interests, and advantage, without giving any assistance or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who would do any injury to either of the high contracting parties. There shall be a general oblivion and amnesty of every thing which may have been done or committed, before or since the commencement of the war which is just ended.

II. The treaties of Westphalia of 1648; the treaties of peace of Nimeguen of 1678, and 1679; of Ryswick of 1697; those of peace and of commerce of Utrecht of 1713; that of Baden of 1714; that of the triple alliance of the Hague of 1717; that of the quadruple alliance of London of 1718; the treaty of peace of Vienna of 1738; the definitive treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1748; and that of Paris of 1763, serve as a basis and foundation to the peace, and to the present treaty; and for this purpose they were all renewed and confirmed in the best form, as well as all the treaties in general which subsisted between the high contracting parties before the war, as if they were herein inserted word for word; and so they are to be exactly observed for the future in their full tenour, and religiously executed by both parties, in all the points which

which shall not be derogated from by the present treaty of peace.

III. All the prisoners taken on either side, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried away or given during the war, and to this day, shall be restored, without ransom, in six weeks at latest, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; each crown respectively discharging the advances which shall have been made, for the subsistence and maintenance of their prisoners, by the sovereign of the country where they shall have been detained, according to the receipts and attested accounts, and other authentic vouchers, which shall be furnished on each side: and sureties shall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the prisoners may have contracted in the countries where they may have been detained until their entire release. And all ships, as well men of war as merchant ships, which may have been taken since the expiration of the terms agreed upon for the cessation of hostilities by sea, shall likewise be restored *bona fide*, with all their crews and cargoes. And the execution of this article shall be proceeded upon immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

IV. His majesty the king of Great Britain is maintained in his right to the island of Newfoundland, and to the adjacent islands, as the whole were assured to him by the thirteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht; excepting the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, which are ceded in full right by the present treaty to his most Christian majesty.

V. His majesty the most Christian king, in order to prevent the quarrels which have hitherto arisen between the two nations of England and France, consents to renounce the right of fishing, which belongs to him in virtue of the aforesaid article of the treaty of Utrecht, from cape Bonavista to cape St. John, situated on the eastern coast of Newfoundland, in fifty degrees north latitude; and his majesty the king of Great Britain consents on his part, that the fishery assigned to the subjects of his most Christian majesty, beginning at the said cape

St. John, passing to the north, and descending by the western coast of the island of Newfoundland, shall extend to the place called cape Raye, situated in 'forty-seven degrees fifty minutes latitude. The French fishermen shall enjoy the fishery which is assigned to them by the present article, as they had the right to enjoy that which was assigned to them by the treaty of Utrecht.

VI. With regard to the fishery in the gulf of St. Laurence, the French shall continue to exercise it conformably to the fifth article of the treaty of Paris.

VII. The king of Great Britain restores to France the island of St. Lucia, in the condition it was in when it was conquered by the British arms: And his Britannic majesty cedes and guaranties to his most Christian majesty the island of Tobago. The protestant inhabitants of the said island, as well as those of the same religion, who shall have settled at St. Lucia, whilst that island was occupied by the British arms, shall not be molested in the exercise of their worship: And the British inhabitants, or others who may have been subjects of the king of Great Britain in the aforesaid islands, shall retain their possessions upon the same titles and conditions by which they have acquired them; or else they may retire in full security and liberty, where they shall think fit, and shall have the power of selling their estates, provided it be to subjects of his most Christian majesty, and of removing their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except on account of debts, or of criminal prosecutions. The term limited for this emigration is fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. And for the better securing the possessions of the inhabitants of the aforesaid island of Tobago, the most Christian king shall issue letters patent, containing an abolition of the *droit d'aubaine* in the said island.

VIII. The most Christian king restores to Great Britain the islands of Grenada, and the Grenadines, St. Vincent's, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat;

Montserrat; and the fortresses of these islands shall be delivered up in the condition they were in when the conquest of them was made. The same stipulations inserted in the preceding article shall take place in favour of the French subjects, with respect to the islands enumerated in the present article.

IX. The king of Great Britain cedes, in full right, and guaranties to his most Christian majesty, the river Senegal, and its dependancies, with the forts of St. Louis, Podor, Galam, Arguin, and Portendic; and his Britannic majesty restores to France the island of Goree, which shall be delivered up in the condition it was in when the conquest of it was made.

X. The most Christian king, on his part, guaranties to the king of Great Britain the possession of Fort James, and of the river Gambia.

XI. For preventing all dissension in that part of the world, the two high contracting parties shall, within three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, name commissaries, who shall be charged with the settling and fixing of the boundaries of the respective possessions. As to the gum trade, the English shall have the liberty of carrying it on, from the mouth of the river St. John, to the bay and fort of Portendic inclusively. Provided that they shall not form any permanent settlement, of what nature soever, in the said river St. John, upon the coast, or in the bay of Portendic.

XII. As to the residue of the coast of Africa, the English and French subjects shall continue to resort thereto, according to the usage which has hitherto prevailed.

XIII. The king of Great Britain restores to his most Christian majesty all the settlements which belonged to him at the beginning of the present war, upon the coast of Orixa, and in Bengal, with liberty to surround Chandernagore with a ditch for carrying off the waters: And his Britannic majesty engages to take such measures as shall be in his power for securing to the subjects of France in that part of India, as well as on the coast of Orixa, Coromandel, and Malabar, a safe, free, and independent

dent trade, such as was carried on by the French East India company, whether they exercise it individually, or united in a company.

XIV. Pondicherry shall be in like manner delivered up and guarantied to France, as also Karikal: And his Britannic majesty shall secure, for an additional dependancy to Pondicherry, the two districts of Velanour and Bahour; and to Karikal, the Four Magans bordering thereupon.

XV. France shall re-enter into the possession of Mahé, as well as of its factory at Surat; and the French shall carry on their trade, on this part of India, conformably to the principles established in the thirteenth article of this treaty.

XVI. Orders having been sent to India by the high contracting parties, in pursuance of the sixteenth article of the preliminaries, it is further agreed, that if, within the term of four months, the respective allies of their Britannic and most Christian majesties shall not have acceded to the present pacification, or concluded a separate accommodation, their said majesties shall not give them any assistance, directly or indirectly, against the British or French possessions, or against the ancient possessions of their respective allies, such as they were in the year 1776.

XVII. The king of Great Britain being desirous to give to his most Christian majesty a sincere proof of reconciliation and friendship, and to contribute to render solid the peace re-established between their said majesties, consents to the abrogation and suppression of all the articles relative to Dunkirk, from the treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht in 1713, inclusive, to this day.

XVIII. Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, the two high contracting parties shall name commissaries to treat concerning new arrangements of commerce between the two nations, on the basis of reciprocity and mutual convenience; which arrangements shall be settled and concluded within the space of two years, to be computed from the first of January, in the year 1784.

XIX. All the countries and territories which may have been, or which may be conquered in any part of the world whatsoever, by the arms of his Britannic majesty, as well as by those of his most Christian majesty, which are not included in the present treaty, neither under the head of cessions, nor under the head of restitutions, shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring any compensation.

XX. As it is necessary to appoint a certain period for the restitutions and evacuations to be made by each of the high contracting parties, it is agreed that the king of Great Britain shall cause to be evacuated the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, three months after the ratification of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done; St. Lucia, (one of the Charibbee islands) and Goree in Africa, three months after the ratification of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done. The king of Great Britain shall in like manner, at the end of three months after the ratification of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done, enter again into the possession of the islands of Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincent's, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat. France shall be put in possession of the towns and factories which are restored to her in the East Indies, and of the territories which are procured for her, to serve as additional dependancies to Pondicherry, and to Karikal, six months after the ratification of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done. France shall deliver up, at the end of the like term of six months, the towns and territories which her arms may have taken from the English, or their allies, in the East Indies. In consequence whereof, the necessary orders shall be sent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal passports for the ships which shall carry them, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty.

XXI. The decision of the prizes and seizures made prior to the hostilities, shall be referred to the respective courts of justice; so that the legality of the said prizes and seizures shall be decided according to the law of nations, and to treaties, in the courts of justice of the nation

tion which shall have made the capture, or ordered the seizures.

XXII. For preventing the revival of the law-suits which have been ended in the islands conquered by either of the high contracting parties, it is agreed that the judgments pronounced in the last resort, and which have acquired the force of matters determined, shall be confirmed and executed according to their form and tenour.

XXIII. Their Britannic and most Christian majesties promise to observe sincerely, and *bona fide*, all the articles contained and established in the present treaty; and they will not suffer the same to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their respective subjects: and the said high contracting parties guaranty to each other, generally and reciprocally, all the stipulations of the present treaty.

XXIV. The solemn ratifications of the present treaty, prepared in good and due form, shall be exchanged in this city of Versailles, between the high contracting parties, in the space of a month, or sooner, if possible, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present treaty.

In witness whereof, we the under-written ambassador extraordinary, and ministers plenipotentiary, have signed with our hands, in their names, and in virtue of our respective full powers, the present definitive treaty, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Versailles, the third day of September, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

Gravier de Vergennes. (L. S.)

Manchester. (L. S.)

The definitive Treaty of Peace and Friendship between his Britannic Majesty, and the most Catholic King. Signed at Versailles, the 3d Day of September 1783.—As published by Authority.

In the name of the Most Holy and undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. So be it.

BE it known to all those whom it shall or may in any manner concern. The most serene and most potent prince George the Third, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, duke of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, arch-treasurer and elector of the holy Roman empire, &c. and the most serene and most potent prince Charles the Third, by the grace of God, king of Spain, and of the Indies, &c. being equally desirous to put an end to the war, which for several years past afflicted their respective dominions, accepted the offer which their majesties the emperor of the Romans, and the empress of all the Russias, made to them, of their interposition, and of their mediation: But their Britannic and Catholic majesties, animated with a mutual desire of accelerating the re-establishment of peace, communicated to each other their laudable intention; which Heaven so far blessed, that they proceeded to lay the foundations of peace, by signing preliminary articles at Versailles, the 20th of January in the present year. Their said majesties the king of Great Britain, and the Catholic king, thinking it incumbent upon them to give their Imperial majesties a signal proof of their gratitude for the generous offer of their mediation, invited them, in concert, to concur in the completion of the great and salutary work of peace, by taking part, as mediators, in the definitive treaty to be concluded between their Britannic and Catholic majesties. Their said Imperial majesties having readily accepted that invitation, they have named, as their representatives, viz. his majesty the emperor of the Romans, the most illustrious and most excellent lord Florimond, count Mercy-Argenteau, viscount of Loo, baron of Chrichegnée, knight of the golden

golden fleece, chamberlain, actual privy councillor of state to his Imperial and royal apostolic majesty, and his ambassador to his most Christian majesty; and her majesty the empress of all the Russias, the most illustrious and most excellent lord, prince Iwan Bariatinskoy, lieutenant general of the forces of her Imperial majesty of all the Russias, knight of the orders of St. Anne and of the Swedish Sword, and her minister plenipotentiary to his most Christian majesty, and the lord Arcadi de Marcoff, councillor of state to her Imperial majesty of all the Russias, and her minister plenipotentiary to his most Christian majesty. In consequence, their said majesties the king of Great Britain, and the most Christian king, have named and constituted for their plenipotentiaries, charged with the concluding and signing of the definitive treaty of peace, viz. the king of Great Britain, the most illustrious and most excellent lord George, duke and earl of Manchester, viscount Mandeville, baron of Kimbolton, lord-lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county of Huntingdon, actual privy councillor to his Britannic majesty, and his ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his most Christian majesty; and the Catholic king, the most illustrious and most excellent lord Peter Paul Abarca de Bolea Ximenes d'Urrea, &c. count of Aranda and Castel Florido, marquis of Torres, of Villanan and Rupit, viscount of Rueda and Yoch, baron of the baronies of Gavin, Sietamo, Clamofa, Eripol Trazmoz, La Mata de Castil Viejo, Antillon La Almolda, Cortés, Jorva, St. Genis, Rabovillet, Arcau, and St. Colome de Farnés, lord of the tenance and honour of Alcalatém, the valley of Rodélla, the castles and towns of Maella, Mesones, Tiurana, and Villa Plana, Taradel and Viladrau, &c. Rico Hombre in Arragon by descent, grandee of Spain of the first class, knight of the order of the Golden Fleece, and of that of the Holy Ghost, gentleman of the king's chamber in employment, captain-general of his forces, and his ambassador to the most Christian king; who, after having exchanged their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. I.

Art. I. There shall be a Christian, universal, and perpetual peace, as well by sea as by land, and a sincere and constant friendship shall be re-established, between their Britannic and Catholic majesties, and between their heirs and successors, kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, subjects, and vassals, of what quality or condition soever they be, without exception either of places or persons; so that the high contracting parties shall give the greatest attention to the maintaining between themselves, and their said dominions and subjects, that reciprocal friendship and intercourse, without permitting hereafter, on either part, any kind of hostilities to be committed, either by sea or by land, for any cause or under any pretence whatsoever: and they shall carefully avoid, for the future, every thing which might prejudice the union happily re-established, and endeavouring, on the contrary, to procure reciprocally for each other, on every occasion, whatever may contribute to their mutual glory, interests, and advantage, without giving any assistance or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who would do any injury to either of the high contracting parties. There shall be a general oblivion and amnesty of every thing which may have been done or committed, before or since the commencement of the war which is just ended.

II. The treaties of Westphalia of 1648; those of Madrid of 1667, and of 1670; those of peace and of commerce of Utrecht of 1713; that of Baden of 1714; of Madrid of 1715; of Seville of 1729; the definitive treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1748; the treaty of Madrid of 1750; and the definitive treaty of Paris of 1763, serve as a basis and foundation to the peace, and to the present treaty; and for this purpose they are all renewed and confirmed in the best form, as well as all the treaties in general which subsisted between the high contracting parties before the war, and particularly all those which are specified and renewed in the aforesaid definitive treaty of Paris, in the best form, and as if they were herein inserted word for word: So that they are to be exactly observed for the future in their full tenour, and
religiously

religiously executed, by both parties, in all the points which shall not be derogated from by the present treaty of peace.

III. All the prisoners taken on either side, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried away or given, during the war, and to this day, shall be restored, without ransom, in six weeks at latest, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the present treaty; each crown respectively discharging the advances which shall have been made for the subsistence and maintenance of their prisoners, by the sovereign of the country where they shall have been detained, according to the receipts, attested accounts, and other authentic vouchers, which shall be furnished on each side: And sureties shall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the prisoners may have contracted in the countries where they may have been detained, until their entire release. And all ships, as well men of war as merchant ships, which may have been taken since the expiration of the terms agreed upon for the cessation of hostilities by sea, shall likewise be restored, *bona fide*, with all their crews and cargoes. And the execution of this article shall be proceeded upon immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

IV. The king of Great Britain cedes, in full right to his Catholic majesty, the island of Minorca. Provided that the same stipulations inserted in the following article shall take place in favour of the British subjects, with regard to the abovementioned island.

V. His Britannic majesty likewise cedes and guarantees in full right, to his Catholic majesty, East Florida, as also West Florida. His Catholic majesty agrees that the British inhabitants, or others, who may have been subjects of the king of Great Britain in the said countries, may retire in full security and liberty, where they shall think proper, and may sell their estates, and remove their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except on account of debts, or criminal prosecutions; the term limited for this emigration being fixed

fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty: But if, from the value of the possessions of the English proprietors, they should not be able to dispose of them within the said term, then his Catholic majesty shall grant them a prolongation proportionate to that end. It is further stipulated, that his Britannic majesty shall have the power of removing from East Florida all the effects which may belong to him, whether artillery or other matters.

VI. The intention of the two high contracting parties being to prevent as much as possible, all the causes of complaint and misunderstanding heretofore occasioned by the cutting of wood for dying, or logwood: and several English settlements having been formed and extended, under that pretence, upon the Spanish continent; it is expressly agreed, that his Britannic majesty's subjects shall have the right of cutting, loading, and carrying away logwood, in the district lying between the river Wallis or Bellize, and Rio Hondo, taking the course of the said two rivers for unalterable boundaries, so as that the navigation of them be common to both nations, to wit, by the river Wallis or Bellize, from the sea, ascending as far as opposite to a lake or inlet which runs into the land, and forms an isthmus, or neck, with another similar inlet, which comes from the side of Rio-Nuevo or New-River; so that the line of separation shall pass strait across the said isthmus, and meet another lake formed by the water of Rio-Nuevo or New-River, at its current. The said line shall continue with the course of the Rio-Nuevo, descending as far as opposite to a river, the source of which is marked in the map, between Rio-Nuevo and Rio-Hondo, and which empties itself into Rio-Hondo; which river shall also serve as a common boundary as far as its junction with Rio-Hondo; and from thence descending by Rio-Hondo to the sea, as the whole is marked on the map which the plenipotentiaries of the two crowns have thought proper to make use of, for ascertaining the points agreed upon; to the end, that a good correspondence may reign
between

between the two nations, and that the English workmen, cutters, and labourers may not trespass from an uncertainty of the boundaries. The respective commissaries shall fix upon convenient places, in the territory above marked out, in order that his Britannic majesty's subjects, employed in the felling of logwood, may, without interruption, build therein houses and magazines necessary for themselves, their families, and their effects; and his Catholic majesty assures to them the enjoyment of all that is expressed in the present article; provided that these stipulations shall not be considered as derogating in any wise from his rights of sovereignty. Therefore all the English, who may be dispersed in any other parts, whether on the Spanish continent, or in any of the islands whatsoever, dependant on the aforesaid Spanish continent, and for whatever reason it might be, without exception, shall retire within the district which has been above described, in the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the exchange of the ratifications; and for this purpose, orders shall be issued on the part of his Britannic majesty; and on that of his Catholic majesty, his governors shall be ordered to grant to the English dispersed every convenience possible for their removing to the settlement agreed upon by the present article, or for their retiring wherever they shall think proper. It is likewise stipulated, that if any fortifications should actually have been heretofore erected within the limits marked out, his Britannic majesty shall cause them all to be demolished; and he will order, his subjects not to build any new ones. The English inhabitants, who shall settle there for the cutting of logwood, shall be permitted to enjoy a free fishery for their subsistence, on the coasts of their district above agreed on, or of the islands situated opposite thereto, without being in anywise disturbed on that account; provided they do not establish themselves, in any manner, on the said islands.

VII. His Catholic majesty shall restore to Great Britain the islands of Providence, and the Bahamas, without exception, in the same condition they were in when they were conquered by the arms of the king of Spain. The

The same stipulations inserted in the fifth article of this treaty shall take place in favour of the Spanish subjects, with regard to the islands mentioned in the present article.

VIII. All the countries and territories, which may have been, or which may be conquered in any part of the world whatsoever, by the arms of his Britannic majesty, as well as by those of his Catholic majesty, which are not included in the present treaty, neither under the head of cessions, nor under the head of restitutions, shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring any compensation.

IX. Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, the two high contracting parties shall name commissioners to treat concerning new arrangements of commerce between the two nations, on the basis of reciprocity and mutual convenience; which arrangements shall be settled and concluded within the space of two years, to be computed from the first of January 1784.

X. As it is necessary to appoint a certain period for the restitutions and evacuations to be made by each of the high contracting parties, it is agreed, that the king of Great Britain shall cause East Florida to be evacuated three months after the ratification of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done. The king of Great Britain shall in like manner enter again into possession of the islands of Providence, and the Bahamas, without exception, in the space of three months after the ratification of the present treaty, or sooner, if it can be done. In consequence whereof, the necessary orders shall be sent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal passports for the ships which shall carry them, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty.

XI. Their Britannic and Catholic majesties, promise to observe sincerely, and *bona fide*, all the articles contained and established in the present treaty; and they will not suffer the same to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their respective subjects: and the said high contracting parties guaranty to each other, generally and reciprocally, all the stipulations of the present treaty.

XII. The

XII. The solemn ratifications of the present treaty, prepared in good and due form, shall be exchanged in this city of Versailles, between the high contracting parties, in the space of one month, or sooner if possible, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present treaty. In witness whereof, we the under-written ambassadors extraordinary, and ministers plenipotentiary, have signed with our hands, in their names, and by virtue of our respective full powers, the present definitive treaty, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Versailles, the 3d day of Sept. 1783.

Le Comte d' Aranda. (L. S.)

Manchester. (L. S.)

Preliminary Articles of Peace between his Britannic Majesty and the States General of the United Provinces.

Signed at Paris, the 2d of September, 1783.

In the Name of the Most Holy Trinity.

THE king of Great Britain, and the States General of the United Provinces, animated with an equal desire to put an end to the calamities of war, have already authorised their respective ministers plenipotentiary to sign mutual declarations for a suspension of arms; and being willing to re-establish union and good understanding between the two nations, as necessary for the benefit of humanity in general, as for that of their respective dominions and subjects, have named for this purpose; to wit, on the part of his Britannic majesty, the most illustrious and excellent Lord George, Duke and Earl of Manchester, Viscount Mandeville, Baron of Kimbolton, &c. his ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his most Christian majesty; and on the part of their high mightinesses the States General, the most excellent lords, Mathew Lestevenon de Berkenroode, and Gerard Brantsen, respectively their ambassador, and ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiaries; who, after having duly communicated their full powers in good form, have agreed upon the following preliminary articles:

Art. I. As soon as the preliminaries shall be signed and ratified, sincere and constant friendship shall be re-

established between his Britannic majesty, his kingdoms, dominions, and subjects, and their high mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces, their dominions and subjects, of what quality or condition soever they be, without exception, either of places or persons; so that the high contracting parties shall give the greatest attention to the maintaining between themselves and their said dominions and subjects, this reciprocal friendship and intercourse, without permitting hereafter, on either part, any kind of hostilities to be committed, either by sea or by land, for any cause or under any pretence whatsoever: and they shall carefully avoid, for the future, every thing which might prejudice the union happily re-established, endeavouring, on the contrary, to procure reciprocally for each other, on every occasion, whatever may contribute to their mutual glory, interests, and advantages, without giving any assistance or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who would do any injury to either of the high contracting parties. There shall be a general oblivion of every thing which may have been done or committed, before or since the commencement of the war which is just ended.

II. With respect to the honours of the flag, and the salute at sea, by the ships of the republic towards those of his Britannic majesty, the same custom shall be respectively followed, as was practised before the commencement of the war which is just concluded.

III. All the prisoners taken on either side, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried away or given during the war, and to this day, shall be restored, without ransom, in six weeks at latest, to be computed from the day of exchange of the ratifications of these preliminary articles; each power respectively discharging the advances which shall have been made, for the subsistence and maintenance of their prisoners, by the sovereign of the country where they shall have been detained, according to the receipts, attested accounts, and other authentic vouchers, which shall be furnished on each side; and sureties shall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the prisoners may have contracted in the countries where they may have

have been detained until their entire release. And all ships, as well men of war as merchant ships, which may have been taken since the expiration of the terms agreed upon for the cessation of hostilities by sea, shall likewise be restored, *bona fide*, with all their crews and cargoes; and the execution of this article shall be proceeded upon immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this preliminary treaty.

IV. The States General of the United Provinces cede and guaranty, in full right to his Britannic majesty, the town of Negapatnam, with the dependencies thereof; but, in consideration of the importance which the states general of the United Provinces annex to the possession of the aforesaid town, the king of Great Britain, as a proof of his good-will towards the said states, promises, notwithstanding this cession, to receive and treat with them for the restitution of the said town, in case the states should hereafter have an equivalent to offer to him.

V. The king of Great Britain shall restore to the states general of the United Provinces, Trinquemale, as also all the other towns, forts, harbours, and settlements, which in the course of the present war, have been conquered, in any part of the world whatever, by the arms of his Britannic majesty, or by those of the English East India company, and of which he might be in possession; the whole in the condition in which they shall be found.

VI. The states general of the United Provinces promise and engage not to obstruct the navigation of the British subjects in the eastern seas.

VII. Whereas differences have arisen between the English African company, and the Dutch West India company, relative to the navigation on the coasts of Africa, as also on the subject of cape Apollonia, for preventing all cause of complaint between the subjects of the two nations upon those coasts, it is agreed that commissaries shall be named, on each side, to make suitable arrangements on these points.

VIII. All the countries and territories which may have been, or which may be conquered in any part of
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the world whatsoever, by the arms of his Britannic majesty, as well as by those of the states general, which are not included in the present treaty, neither under the head of cessions, nor under the head of restitutions, shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring any compensation.

IX. As it necessary to appoint a certain period for the restitutions and evacuations to be made, it is agreed that the king of Great Britain shall cause Trinquemale to be evacuated, as well as all the towns, forts, and territories, which have been taken by his arms, and of which he may be in possession, excepting what is ceded to his Britannic majesty by those articles, at the same periods as the restitutions and evacuations shall be made between Great Britain and France. The states general shall restore, at the same period, the towns and territories they may have taken from the English in the East Indies. In consequence of which, the necessary orders shall be sent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal passports for the ships which shall carry them, immediately after the ratification of these preliminary articles.

X. His Britannic majesty and their high mightinesses the aforesaid states general, promise to observe sincerely, and *bona fide*, all the articles contained and established in this present preliminary treaty; and they will not suffer the same to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their respective subjects: and the said high contracting parties guaranty to each other, generally and reciprocally, all the stipulations of the present articles.

XI. The ratifications of the present preliminary articles, prepared in good and due form, shall be exchanged in this city of Paris, between the high contracting parties, in the space of one month, or sooner, if it can be done, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present articles.

In witness whereof, &c. &c. (Signed)

Done at Paris,
Sept. 2, 1783.

Lestevenon van Berkenroode. (L.S.)
Manchester. (L.S.)
Brantsen. (L.S.)

Barlow, Joel

The History Of England From The Year 1765 To The Year 1795 Being a
continuation of the Histories of Mr. Hume and Dr. Smollett

Bd.: 4

London (1795)

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